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ENGAGING THE MIND

team member said it was one of the bloodiest he had seen. Outside the hospital, relatives were still poring over lists of the dead. One man stood at the back of the truck and looked down on the crowd. Reaching

"together," he said. Hundreds of

Students held a candlelight vigil at the site of the shooting.

the biggest bomb blast he had seen. "It's a real mess," he said.

down on the crowd. Reaching into the vehicle he pulled out a

Washington Post, page 18

Denmark	DK17	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	ES200

Austria	AS30	Malta	50c
Belgium	BF80	Netherlands	G 5
Denmark	DK17	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 14	Saudi Arabia	SR 6
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 500	Sweden	SK 13
Italy	L 3,500	Switzerland	SF 3

Bulgaria's last dictator

OBITUARY
Todor Zhivkov

TODOR Zhivkov, who died last night aged 86, was the former Soviet bloc's longest-serving communist dictator. He ruled Bulgaria for 35 years as if it was his country estate, but fell foul of the Gorbachev revolution in 1989, was ousted and spent his final years under house arrest.

Within a year of Stalin's death, Zhivkov had become head of the Bulgarian Communist party and for 35 years presided over a regime that combined loyalty towards the Kremlin with nepotism, patronage and corruption on a staggering scale.

Born into a peasant family in Travets, a mountain village outside Sofia, he was working as a printer in the Bulgarian capital in the 1930s when he embarked on a lifetime in Balkan communist politics. A leading partisan fighter against the Nazis in Bulgaria in the second world war, he played a role in the communist takeover of his country in September 1944, and within six years of the end of the war, at the age of 40, he gained a seat on the party politburo.

After 1944, when he was made party leader, he spent his early years in power purging his internal rivals — by 1953 succeeding in concentrating power in his hands, to pave the way for a quarter century of absolute rule during which he, his family and his cronies amassed considerable wealth. Zhivkov's Bulgaria became notorious for its ruthless activities and for the KGB's espionage operate as a proxy for the KGB abroad.

By the time Zhivkov was unseated, he had added Bulgaria with a \$10 billion foreign debt that the country could not repay.

By the late 1980s, Zhivkov was having to cope with the strong new breeze blowing across the Black Sea from Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union. He sought to weather the storm by proclaiming that Gorbachev was merely gung Bulgaria, where perestroika had long been set in train.

But younger rivals inside the party were plotting to unseat him. In the 1970s and 1980s Zhivkov embarked on a systematic campaign of harassment of the country's sizeable Turkish minority. By early 1989, a combination of persecution, fury and fear produced what was then the biggest post-war mass movement of people: more than 300,000 Bulgarian Turks fled the country.

At a politburo meeting in Sofia in November 1989, Peter Mladenov, the former foreign minister, entered enough votes to depose him, although the country remained largely in the hands of the younger apparatchiks who had served him until 1989, when a wave of demonstrations and strikes brought the reformist Petar Stoyanov to power.

Fifteen months after he was removed from power, Zhivkov was tried for embezzlement. He was not put in prison, however, merely ordered to remain under house arrest.

Ian Traynor

Todor Zhivkov, dictator, born September 7, 1911; died August 5, 1989



Residents of an Athens suburb fight a fire threatening to engulf a forested area

PHOTO: LEPIDIS PIPARAKIS

Athens on alert after fierce fires

Helena Smith in Athens

THE Greek government last night declared a state of emergency in the greater Athens area and the Peloponnese as forest fires tore through tourist areas.

Amid scenes of panic as flames engulfed homes on Mount Pentelici near the capital, the entire state emergency, including soldiers and doctors, was put on alert.

As the blaze swept down Mount Pentelici, killing an elderly resident, his family and his cronies panicked. The blaze was not far from the capital, the entire state emergency, including soldiers and doctors, was put on alert.

Others who refused to leave were seen frantically trying to put out their cars and hoses.

The public order minister, George Karamanolis, insisted that the fires were the work of arsonists bent on clearing land for property developers. He said police had arrested five men armed with firecrackers and had found other equipment, such as timebombs and childproofers, in remote forest areas.

The fires, the worst in living memory, have left a trail of destruction. Much of Pentelici, one of Athens' last wooded areas, and vast swathes of the Peloponnese now resemble a war zone.

In the north and south of the Peloponnese, wind-whipped fires through the rolling countryside. Hundreds of people fled villages around the peninsula's port cities of Piraeus and Kalamata.

Television showed dramatic footage of old men, women and children diving for cover as flames the size of houses descended upon them. Two men died of heavy attacks on their heads, as flames and other equipment, such as timebombs and childproofers, in remote forest areas.

Ancient Olympia, the 2,000-year-old site of the first Olympic Games, was only narrowly saved. Hundreds of looted ruins to the monument, seen as sacred only to the Acropolis, to fight the blaze.

In Cyprus 48 people, mainly elderly, died as a scorching heatwave gripped the Mediterranean island over the weekend.

Contact group puts forward Kosovo plan

Richard Norton-Taylor

THE six-country contact group on Kosovo — which includes the United States and Russia — has drawn up new proposals for a political future of the war-torn Serbian province.

The proposals emerged last week as it became clear that Nato was unlikely to use military force to end the worsening humanitarian crisis. Plans for a constitutional settlement "would give the people of Kosovo control of their own internal affairs, control over their own security and real autonomy", said the British Foreign Secretary, James Cook. He said there was indication that Belgrade, seat of the Serbian government, was willing to discuss the plan.

Both sides said that this was a breakthrough, but it was not clear whether either side was willing to accept it.

As they gained control of the territory from the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), Serbian troops were reported to be engaged in a scorched-earth policy.

The Serbian often-see has been of thousands of people have been forced to flee the province. The United States estimates that there are 250,000 displaced people, but the UN says the figure is higher.

The Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, has said he is ready to talk with the Kosovans on autonomy, but the leading Albanian politician, Ibrahim Rugova, has refused to agree the make-up of their negotiating team.

Comment, page 12

Rebels close in on Africa's trigger

Rebels are making gains in Laurent Kabila's Congo, but his neighbours could be the decisive card, writes Patrick Smith

AFRICA is shaped like a revolver, wrote the Martinican writer Frantz Fanon, and Congo is the trigger. Since August 1 is the battle for Africa's trigger has been in earnest.

As rebel forces dominated by the hegemony (Congolese Tutsi) push westwards from east-Congo (formerly Zaïre), a new political coalition ostensibly led by a "former official of the United Nations" (British Foreign Secretary James Cook) has emerged.

Arthur Zairi Ngoma, a leading strongly pro-Soviet figure in the region, has been pushing to control of Kisangani and its air base, together with Etires and Unisa rebels, led by Jonas Savimbi, pushing through Congo. If the Angolans completely lost confidence in President Laurent Kabila and joined the Ugandans and Rwandans in the rebellion against him, this could decisively alter the balance of power.

Much of the rebel success must be attributed to their regional backers, despite a public warning from Washington to Congo's neighbouring states not to meddle in the imbroglio. Around the hub are grouped a series of interlocking power alliances: one axis stretches through rich Angola to Africa's southwestern tip; another runs through the fertile plains of Uganda to the Horn of Africa.

Eighteen months ago, the beneficiary of those alliances was Mr Kabila, then a corpulent, shaven-headed guerrilla leader and gold smuggler who had styled himself as a long-time radical opponent of the brutal, corrupt dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko.

Swept to power in May 1997 as leader of a makeshift coalition, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire, Mr Kabila rode a military alliance powered by the guerrilla fighting expertise of the Rwandan and Ugandan armies, and the spirit and heavy artillery capacity of the Angolan army. And in the background stood other regional powers, such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia in the north, together with Eritrea and Ethiopia in the north, who were quietly celebrating the ousting of President Mobutu.

Unhappily for Mr Kabila, most of the states in that regional alliance have concluded that he is not going to deliver the political stability and economic development they want to see from the mineral-rich Congo. And most seriously, his key military



Kabila surrounded by militia

every direction. We have moved close to the port of Matadi. We took the port of Matadi," he said.

Angolan troops were stationed earlier in Matadi to keep watch on the critical Congo-Angolan corridor with the aim of stopping supplies for the rebellion against him, this could decisively alter the balance of power.

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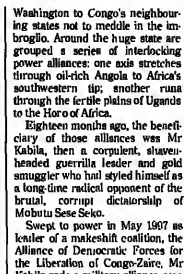
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Kagame's government in Rwanda for the Ngoni's rebellion. "We say explicitly that Rwanda is attacking us," his information minister, Didier Munganga, told journalists. Mr Kabila has also instructed his United Nations ambassador, Augustin Nshangwe, to ask the UN Security Council to condemn "the invasion" by Rwanda.

This replays the history of Mr Kabila's own military campaign, backed by Rwanda and Uganda, against the Mobutu regime, which tried, with some backing from France, to get the UN to condemn a "foreign invasion" from the east. Mr Kabila looks even less likely to win sympathy from the Security Council than his old adversary.

Mr Kabila's best chance seems to be to convince other leaders that he should help him shore up his regime, but co-operation appeared unlikely after last week's regional summit in Zimbabwe broke up in mutual recrimination.

He got a small boost from South Africa's foreign minister, Alfred Nzo, who flew to Lubumbashi last week to see him. Asked if Pretoria still backed the embattled Mr Kabila, Mr Nzo said: "Yes, of course we do. We support the Democratic Republic of Congo, which at the moment is headed by Kabila."

As the fighting continues this week, Mr Kabila will need all his powers of persuasion to convince his fellow regional players that his regime is still worth propelling up.

Patrick Smith is editor of Africa Confidential

Ashrawi quits Arafat's cabinet over corruption in the ranks

John Berger in Jerusalem

ILHAN ASHRAWI, one of the most powerful campaigners for the Palestinian rights, has resigned from Yasser Arafat's cabinet, accusing it of corruption in his administration.

Mr Ashrawi announced his resignation a day after Mr Arafat announced a long-awaited cabinet reshuffle last week. Despite widespread allegations of graft and mismanagement levelled by the Palestinian parliament, only one minister was sacked and the cabinet was expanded, with the addition of 10 posts.

Outgoing agriculture minister, Abdel Jawad Saleh, also resigned rather than accept a ministry without portfolio. He added the new cabinet was "corrupt".

Mr Ashrawi, an English literature professor who was the chief Palestinian spokesperson during the long and bitter Madrid peace talks in 1991, had been criticised from higher education in the Jordanian Ministry.

"I believe that comprehensive reform is needed in the government," he said. "I believe when people are not happy they don't stay."

After a 10-minute speech, Mr Ashrawi said he was now maintaining a "status quo, but we are not maintaining a status quo (and) adding people to it."

When Mr Arafat announced the reshuffle, he said the ministers were now making "a new mistake" but members of the parliament, the Palesti-

an Legislative Council (PLC), jeered, and Mr Saleh cried out: "I'm convinced that there's no cabinet, and corruption has become an institution in the Palestinian system."

There are 26 ministerial posts in Mr Arafat's new cabinet, although six will be without portfolio, with no ministries to oversee. Mr Ashrawi plans to continue to work as a deputy in the PLC.

Ghannem Khattib, director of the Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre, said the new cabinet reflected "the growing isolation" of the Palestinian Authority and the ruling Patah party "within both Palestinian society and the political spectrum".

Results of an opinion poll published last week showed that 56 per cent of the Palestinians questioned believed Palestinian political institutions were corrupt, and described the cabinet and government offices as being the most crooked.

An independent audit carried out last year, followed by a PLC report earlier this year, detailed abuse of public funds by ministers who ran up bills of millions of dollars on hotel rooms, restaurants and travel.

Much of the criticism focused on Nabih Shrahi, one of the main negotiators in talks with the Israelis, but he kept his job at the key planning ministry — the channel for most of the \$320 million in aid which the Palestinian territories receive each year. Mr Shrahi has denied any wrongdoing, and challenged his accusers to produce hard evidence.

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GW 8/96

Cook calls Gafafy plot claim 'fantasy'

Richard Norton-Taylor

LABOUR MPs this week expressed growing disquiet about allegations of M16 involvement in a plot to assassinate the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, despite government attempts to dismiss the claims outright by insisting there was no evidence that such an operation had been officially sanctioned.

In his first public comments on the allegations last night, Mr. Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, described reports of the alleged plot as "pure fantasy".

He said he was "absolutely satisfied" that Sir Malcolm Rifkind, his predecessor, had not authorised it. He said: "I'm perfectly satisfied that SIS [the Security Intelligence Service, known as MI6] never put forward any such proposal for an assassination attempt. Nor have I seen anything in the 15 months I have been in the job which would suggest that SIS has any interest, any role or any experience over the decades of any such escape."

A senior Labour source said that while he did not believe the plot had been authorised, it appeared that "something happened". He referred to the possibility of "some oddball operation".

Other well-placed sources said Mr. Cook's dismissal of the allegations did not explain why government lawyers had been locked for more than 48 hours in talks with the

BBC, thrashing out what could be included and what details omitted from a Panorama investigation into allegations made by the former M15 officer, David Shayer.

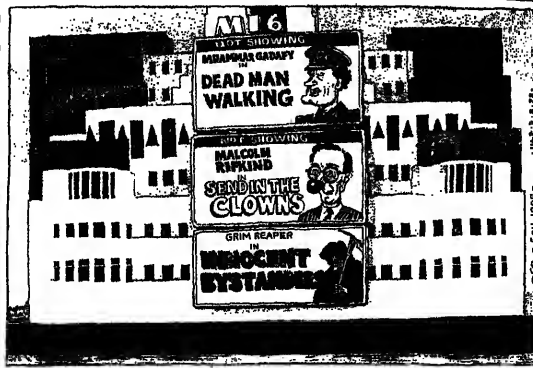
The programme, broadcast last week, included an interview with Mr. Shayer in which he gave details of alleged M16 involvement in a 1980 plot to assassinate Col. Gaddafi through one of its Arab agents, codenamed "Tunworth" — who had links with a militant Islamic group.

Mr. Shayer said in the BBC programme that at the time of the operation he was in an M15 section called G3, responsible for monitoring Libyan activities. He had monitored Sir Malcolm Rifkind, his predecessor, who also worked for M15, who told him the service had been giving cash to the extremist group which was planning to kill Gaddafi by putting a bomb on a road on which the Libyan leader was travelling.

When the bomb exploded, however, Colonel Gaddafi escaped unhurt, while several bystanders were hurt.

"Essentially you are paying in the region of £100,000 to carry out the murder of a foreign head of state," Mr. Shayer said. "Quite apart from the fact that this money is being used, because the attack went wrong, to kill innocent people, it's all international terrorism."

Asked what effect his disclosures would have on attempts by Britain and the United States to get two agents handed over to be tried for



the Lockerbie bombing, Mr. Shayer said there was "no chance" of them being given up for trial.

"I think the British government would be far better off just publishing the entire evidence and saying this is what we have against the Libyan regime," he said.

Annie Macdonald, Mr. Shayer's girlfriend, who also worked for M15, told the BBC: "I think [the Government] are so loudly because they don't realise what he's saying is true. He headed up the Libyan secret war for M15 for over two years, so he was very well informed about all matters relating to Libya."

"He also managed to develop a particularly good working relationship with his opposite number in M16, and I gather that is how he found out the details of the plot to kill Gaddafi," she said.

John Wadhams, Mr. Shayer's lawyer and director of the civil rights group Liberty, said his client had never alleged that Sir Malcolm Rifkind had known about the plot to kill Col. Gaddafi.

Mr. Wadhams said part of the allegation was that this plan had not been authorised as it should have been under the relevant legislation. He called for a judicial inquiry "to satisfy us all of the truth or otherwise of David's allegations".

Mr. Shayer was arrested in Paris on August 1 and is in prison pending extradition to Britain where he faces charges under the Official Secrets Act.

In a separate development, British Special Branch police raided the New Zealand hotel room of Richard Tomlinson, a former MI6 officer, seizing his computer disks, mobile phone and papers relating to his trial Col. Gaddafi.

Mr. Tomlinson, who was recently released from a British jail after conviction under the Official Secrets Act, was last week served with a gagging injunction by the New Zealand authorities at the request of the British government's request. He returned to Auckland after being prevented from travelling to Australia.

Mr. Carey, who threw his weight behind the conservatives in the 1992 election, said: "We mustn't polarise on this matter. It is not simply a cultural matter, of the West versus the East, or the West versus the Third World. On this issue, the rift runs through all the churches."

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Hard line on gays 'will help church relations'

Colin Bunting

THE headline stance on homosexuality taken by the Lambeth Conference will help Anglican relations with Muslims and Catholics, said the Archbishop of Canterbury last week on the last day of the Anglican Communion's gathering in Canterbury. Reviewing the three weeks of debate and prayer among the 725 bishops from all over the world, George Carey welcomed last week's resolution maintaining that homosexuality is incompatible with Scripture. But he said the decision allowed for acceptance of homosexuals in the Church and continuing dialogue with them.

"We have been quite open about acknowledging our differences. We have worked hard, and the result, while retaining a traditional position on homosexual practice, clearly is a more honest and humane people in the Church."

He spoke after bishops involved in the campaign for blessings of gay couples and the ordination of practising homosexuals — who were ruled out in the conference resolution — admitted their disappointment at the fundamentalist interpretation of Scripture.

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of homosexuality came from places where there is bitter confrontation between Christians and Muslims, such as Nigeria, Sudan, Pakistan and southern Asian states.

The resolution represented a crushing defeat for liberal sections of the Church against a powerful alliance of conservative evangelicals from the United States, Australia, Africa and Singapore, who threatened to walk out unless the conference upheld traditional Anglican teaching on sexual morality.

The setback for liberals will be felt keenly in North America, where there are many actively gay and lesbian clergy, particularly in the peaceful inner-city parishes. The presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church of the US, the Rt Rev Frank Griswold, who has admitted ordaining gay priests, refused to say he would stop doing so.

"We will have to go back to our Church and figure out how it becomes part of our experience," said Bishop Griswold of the resolution.

Making a decisive intervention in the tense two-and-a-half hour debate, to prevent the communiqué from misinterpreting Dr. Carey's views, I became conscious during this debate that we could allow disagreement to become division," he said in an unpublished speech.

"I stand wholeheartedly with traditional Anglican orthodoxy. I see no room in the Scriptures and in the entire Christian tradition for sexual activity outside marriage."

The huge majority, 626 votes to 70 with 45 abstentions, represented a personal triumph for Dr. Carey. Among the Lambeth bishops, the rift has been a critical test of his leadership.

Many African bishops said it was Dr. Carey's own views on homosexuality and the relationship he has built up on his visits to Africa which prevented them from walking out of the conference in Canterbury.

During the debate, the Rt Rev Alexander Maitlis, Bishop of Lahore, Pakistan, voiced the horror of many bishops at the idea of same-sex unions as the foundation of civil partnerships.

"It is not gay bashing to uphold the authority of Scripture. It is a matter of faith and dogma. What will we do at the time of the Lambeth when people ask for blessings for unions with their pet animals?"

Many of the strongest opponents of homosexuality came from places where there is bitter confrontation between Christians and Muslims, such as Nigeria, Sudan, Pakistan and southern Asian states.

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Bishop Chukwoma of Nigeria voices his opposition to gay clergy among the Lambeth Conference in Canterbury. PHOTO: MARK CHAPMAN

The result is a setback to the campaign for gay rights within the Church of England. Bishops currently teach that faithful homosexual relationships are acceptable for the laity but not for clergy. In reality, there are a significant number of practising homosexual priests.

The Lambeth Conference, which meets once every decade, is only advisory and has no power to ban gay priests. But any softening of the Church of England's stance is extremely unlikely given the vehement opposition with which bishops, particularly the Africans, warned that toleration of homosexuality in one part of the Anglican Church might seriously damage another.

The Rt Rev Catherine Dineen, Bishop of New York, warned: "The condemnation of homosexuality is a message to the world that we are not a people of love and acceptance."

Some bishops believe the Lambeth Conference could be the last of the 1990s events, because of the cost and logistics of running them. There are also complaints that such international gatherings should not be just for bishops. Dr. Carey has suggested that a more representative event, recognising the importance of the laity, should take place every next century, perhaps in Africa.

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Field hits out at spin doctors

Lucy Ward

FRANK Field, the former welfare minister, last week launched the latest salvo in his post-resignation fightback with an assault on spin doctors, whose activities he called a cancer at the heart of the Government.

After coming under fierce attack, some of it via unscrupulous but vicious press briefings, the former minister blamed "a medley of spin doctors" for the treatment.

His comments, the latest episode in a saga running since Tony Blair's Cabinet reshuffle last month, came after the former minister had already publicly blamed his former boss, Harold Macmillan, and the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, for allegedly blocking his ideas on welfare reform.

The number-attack came in the form of government statements signalling a move to practical action on reform — a scarcely coded dig at Mr. Field's "over-theoretical approach".

But Mr. Field grabbed headlines with an interview on BBC Radio 4: "In the long run, you cannot run a government like this. It's a cancer that will eat away at the heart of our very existence and undermine the way ministers behave. ... I hope the spin doctors will be put in order quite shortly."

Mr. Field later renewed his attack on Mr. Brown when he portrayed one of the Chancellor's pet projects as an inducement to fraud. He criticised Mr. Brown's working family tax credit as threatening to pull "employees into a spiral of dishonesty and corruption".

The Chancellor outlined plans for the US-style tax credit scheme last year. Supporters say it will share work incentives: those on low pay become eligible for tax rebates.

Mr. Field, in his speech to the Social Market Foundation in London, said the working family tax credit "is fraught with great dangers" such as huge bonuses for employers and a strengthening of the employers' hold over its workforce.

He said it could work if people were honest, but that was unlikely because employers could persuade workers "of the benefits of a very low wage which enables them to maximum workers family tax credit, with perhaps major cash payments on top of this fraud-determined minimum wage."

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Ministers lose pay rise but nurses gain

Lucy Ward

CHANCELLOR Gordon Brown plans to continue restraint on Cabinet ministers' salaries for the rest of the Parliament in an attempt to set an example to wage bargainers in the public and private sectors.

Mr. Brown has indicated to ministers — including new members of the Cabinet — that the post-election agreement not to accept the full ministerial salary increase should be made permanent.

The effective freeze, which is not under the Chancellor's control but would force ministers to break ranks if going to take more, will see the average Cabinet minister sacrificing at least £24,000 before tax by the time of the next election. Cabinet ministers are paid about £60,000.

The Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, meanwhile said he hoped to implement the next nurses' pay

rise in full, as argument raged over the reasons for a fall-off in recruitment to the profession.

The minister said he accepted the need for pay to increase and hoped for a settlement next year "which won't need to be staged".

His comments came as nursing unions blamed a drop in student nurses on low pay. But a report last week suggested another deterrent to recruitment may be sex bias, though nine in 10 nurses are women, it is men who are most likely to climb the career ladder.

Christine Hancock, general secretary of the Royal College of Nursing, said the crucial issue was the need to establish levels of pay that would attract people into the profession. "Nurses must be paid in line with people in similar professions, otherwise they will continue to leave nursing or not enter it in the first place."

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From December 1, when the second stage of this year's pay award is implemented, a D-grade staff nurse will earn a basic of between £12,855 and £14,705. Start-up salaries for teachers are £14,500, and for police constables, £15,500.

A radical overhaul of the way hospital consultants are paid, giving patients more say, was expected to be announced this week.

The basic consultant's salary starts at £24,750 and rises annually in five stages to £57,800. Beyond that, consultants have to convince an advisory committee that they have reached higher levels of excellence.

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MPs blame rival departments for Montserrat disaster fiasco

Ewen MacAskill

STINGING criticism of the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, and the International Development Secretary, Clare Short, was delivered last week by MPs investigating the aftermath of the Montserrat volcano disaster.

A report by the Commons International Development Committee complained of poor co-ordination between the two Cabinet ministers' departments. "Unnecessary tensions and inefficiencies".

The Conservative spokesman on overseas issues, Gary Streeter, asked: "What specific steps will be taken to ensure there is no more of this bungling incompetence?"

When the volcano erupted in July last year on the Caribbean island, a British dependent territory, killing 19 people, survivors fled to the eastern part of the island, and the Royal Navy was sent to help.

Mr. Short, an into controversy over her reported response to a request from the Montserrat government for help from the UK — "They'll be asking for golden elephants next" — but she said it was taken out of context.

The Montserrat disaster highlighted a turf war between the Foreign Office and the Department for International Development. Before the general election, the DfID's predecessor, the Overseas Development Agency, had been part of the Foreign Office, and there was resentment in the Foreign Office when it was made a separate department.

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partment. Responsibility for dealing with the havoc caused by the volcanic eruption was divided between the two departments: the Foreign Office in charge of constitutional arrangements, and DfID of funding.

The committee, in its most demanding passage, said: "Experience of the Montserrat disaster has shown that the two departments have to be taken quickly this spirit of co-operation between the two departments is essential to ensure success."

There will always be unnecessary tensions and weaknesses if DfID money is used to fund foreign and Commonwealth Official Development Assistance (ODA) projects.

Mr. Short was also condemned last week for saying that disaster aid to relieve the plight of millions of people starving to death in Sudan was unnecessary.

The Commons Select Committee on International Development criticised her for making premature aid decisions here to be taken quickly this spirit of co-operation between the two departments is essential to ensure success."

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MPs damn easy profits of rail sell-off

Ewen MacAskill

THE most powerful of the Commons select committees last week issued a damning verdict on privatisation, which was a hand-out to the former British Rail managers — multi-millionaires within minutes.

The Public Accounts Committee, in a scathing report, said that the "easy profits" of the privatisation of British Rail should have been shared with the public.

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had been sold for £2.7 billion, in a package of 50 per cent. The most notorious case was Sandy Anderson, who made £33 million from the sale of Porterbrook to Stagecoach.

MPs on the cross-party committee said: "Such large profits risk obscuring the public's interest in the privatisation of the railways."

The public are understandably concerned when they see a small number of individuals making enormous fortunes at a time when complaints about the industry are rising and many in the industry are losing their jobs.

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The committee, criticising the transport department, said: "We consider that the department should have considered carefully at an early stage to the full process the case for limiting directors' profits allowing the Government to share in profits made if the companies were sold on, and recorded that consideration."

Rail privatisation cost the taxpayer almost £1.4 billion, by far the most expensive sell-off of all the industries privatised by the Tories.

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Razor fish bring holiday chaos

Amelia Gentleman

ASHOAL of razor fish wrought havoc on a crowded beach last weekend, slashing the feet of about 800 holidaymakers paddling in the sea.

Thousands of tourists, making the most of the hottest weekend of the year, had to be evacuated from the area.

Swimmers with blood pouring from their incised feet slipped off the sands at Palsgouan and Palsgouan in Devon.

The beach at Palsgouan, Devon, as consanguineous and police rushed to help ambulance staff in treating the injured, many of whom were children.

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Government stalls and dilutes information bill

David Hencke

THE Government has dropped the Freedom

Drama wins its place in the Salzburg sun

Olivier Schmitt in Salzburg

GERARD MORTIER, formerly head of the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, has been director of the Salzburg Festival for the past six years. With an annual budget of \$50 million, which is more than any other European summer festival, Mortier's post carries a level of responsibility that would make lesser mortals feel jittery, particularly as Salzburg is a city not easily renowned for its open-mindedness.

Yet Mortier has such confidence in his artistic policy that he has never wavered, not even on the numerous occasions that the German-language press has come down on him, like a ton of bricks. With his suit, steel-rimmed glasses and piercing eyes, he may seem self-satisfied. But then he has good reason to be.

For one, he confides with a smile, in his six years at Salzburg he has managed to bring down the average age of festival-goers from 65 to 55. During the time he has worked tirelessly to give the event, which was founded by Richard Strauss, Max Reinhardt and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, a more contemporary image.

He admits to having learned a lot: "Whether you're directing a theatre or a festival, you have to organize things according to the principles of dramatic art. You can't allow people to get it into their heads that our programmes are some kind of supermarket."

This year we've tried to draw a parallel between the cities of Mahagonny from the opera by Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht and Jerusalem, between materialism and spiritualism, between Utopia and ideologies (Stalinism in Katya Kabanova, and the Inquisition in Don Carlos).

"Next year, we'll question the two greatest mythologies of the modern era, Don Juan and Faust, in an attempt to gain a better understanding of European man since the Renaissance." Lucia Ronconi, for example, will direct Don Giovanni.

One of the main planks of Mortier's policy has been to give back to drama its rightful place at Salzburg. This year, a total of 45,000 tickets have been sold for the festival five plays (Robert Wilson's production of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, George Büchner, Josef Weller, Erich A. E. von Elfride Jelinek (reviewed below), Stefan Bachmann's *Trifolia* and *Occident*, by Shakespeare, *Geometriae* by Marceline written and directed by Robert Lep

age, and the annual revival of *Everyman*, by Hofmannsthal, directed by Gerard Pöschel. Tickets for plays account for almost a quarter of all bookings, with opera performances attracting 80,000 in total and concerts, 75,000. "The theatre's place in the festival programme is a major one," Mortier says. "The problem is that theatre people always feel a bit frustrated at Salzburg. They're rather jealous of opera and the more international kind of audiences it draws."

To counter that imbalance, Mortier put an exceptionally gifted director, Peter Sellars, in charge of his first few theatrical seasons, and invited a lot of foreign productions. "Because he was so well known, Sellars brought us a wider public and extra prestige. When he left, we asked Ivan Nagel, who used to be an adviser on theatre programming, to succeed him — which he did eventually. But unfortunately he has had health problems, and although he's much better now he feels it's too onerous a job for him. He devoted even deeper than Sellars into our *Zeitgeist*."

"We'll now have to find someone with real stamina. Salzburg can be very grueling — you're always having to protect yourself against all sorts of intrigues. Nagel has decided he wants to pursue his work as a playwright and writer. His contract ends in December. So I have had to do much of the programming for 1999 myself, and I'm now trying to clinch a deal with a leading German theatre director that will take us up to 2001."

Meanwhile next year's programme looks pretty appetizing: "We're going to put on an adaptation of several Shakespeare plays, starting with *Richard II*, that was staged by Luc Perceval when he performed in a show which, in Belgium, in its last days, lasted 12 hours. We're in discussion with Christoph Marthaler about his directing a classical play, possibly by Oden von Horath. We also invited a Polish show created by the Pura dala Bats in Barcelona."

"All these productions fit in with the theme of next year's programme, which will be common to all the plays as well as the opera we put on. And we'll invite a poet, just as we have invited Jelinek. Next year, the new generation — that's perhaps the main difference between Salzburg and the Vienna Festival, which is now run by Luc Bondy. "For me, Marthaler is the first dramatic poet to have appeared on



Gerard Mortier showed courage in loving Elfride Jelinek (above), Austria's outcast writer, to the bastion of cultural conservatism

"If I were scared of Salzburg, I'd be scared of my own life. I do anything at all. Sometimes I feel a little like Parsifal. I'm unaware of danger. It's better that way. Jelinek told me she thought I was like ET. I said I found that a very apt comparison — I too sometimes yearn to be back home."

TRUE to the artistic credo he has followed for the past two decades, Mortier is still mainly interested in working with the most innovative artists of his time. He entrusts theatrical and operatic productions, as well as concerts, to leading members of the up-and-coming generation. "I want drama, whether it is sung or spoken, to be served by directors who have a strong poetic feeling. That's why I tend to go for members of the new generation — that's perhaps the main difference between Salzburg and the Vienna Festival, which is now run by Luc Bondy."

"For me, Marthaler is the first dramatic poet to have appeared on the scene since Klaus Michael Gröber. He creates a very rich world of his own. I also appreciate people like Stephan Bachmann, Stéphane Braunschweig and Josef Weller. "In addition I keep in touch with filmmakers — this year Hal Hartley. Atom Egoyan was here a week ago. I'm negotiating with David Lynch, who is someone I dream of. I saw his film *Lost in Translation* and I was very moved by it. I received a very modest and very anxious letter from him."

It is too soon to tell whether Mortier will renew his contract after 2001. He will take his decision at the end of next year. So in the event of him deciding to move on there can be a smooth transition: "I'll be 57 then. At that sort of age it's hard to lay yourself on the line, but it's the only way to remain original. Perhaps I'll only manage to do that if I go somewhere else."

"It's the same for writers or composers — look at how Verdi set himself a challenge at the age of 56 by writing *Don Carlos*."

It is an unusual, supernatural and immediately fascinating space, as crystalline as this short play, which succinctly expresses the pain of writing, living, representing and being on familiar terms with death.

The action is set in a kind of non-place, which is located

Turandot comes home

Frédéric Bobin in Beijing

CUMPS of weeds have sprouted on the yellow flag of the Shrine of the Imperial Ancestors in Beijing. The people paint on its wooden pillars is fading in places.

Built in 1420 during the Ming dynasty, and burnt down and restored in 1798, the modern shrine gives off an aura of faded glory. But it can look forward to a thorough facelift for a production of Giacomo Puccini's opera, *Turandot*, which is due to be staged there from September 5-13.

It will be a high-profile event as such as such draws upon the energies of opera-lovers and tourists in disguise. The drama, cherished by so many conductors as being able to perform *Turandot* in the Forbidden City, the setting intended by the composer himself — is about to materialise.

Turandot, the cruel Chinese princess who orders those of her suitors who fail to answer three riddles to be beheaded, will thus be reconciled with her country's uplift. The project is the brainchild of the Indian-born conductor Zubin Mehta and the Chinese film director Zhang Yimou.

The whole affair will cost \$15 million, and the organisers hope to recoup their costs by attracting 20,000 spectators, most of them foreign opera enthusiasts, and to pay between \$150 and \$1,500 for a seat.

To avoid any risk of ruffling Chinese sensibilities, Yimou has decided to play down the less attractive aspects of *Turandot*'s character. He will use warm, intense lighting, by way of contrast with the more somber settings preferred by the director of the opera, an attempt to recast the *Turandot* with his public.

This concern to make the air-circulation as uncontentious as possible has led to the assignment of the disgruntled of a handful of Beijing intellectuals. Wang Chuan, a historian and member of the Academy of Social Sciences, is worried about the potential fire risk, which could have irreparable consequences for the national heritage.

For his critics, however, the work expressed concern at the infringement of intellectual property rights detected in the use of the registered trademark "Forbidden City" for the event.

The Shrine of Imperial Ancestors is in fact located in the Park of People's Culture, and not in the white cliffs of the Forbidden City. A much-louped has been diverting the flow away from a disaster zone. It was the kind of city people noticed in Oklahoma City following the bombing of the federal office building three years ago.

"We have never seen anything like this in Kenya," said Elizabeth Nyong'o. "We are peaceful people. We don't like violence." Nyong'o heard the explosion, could not get near the building, then returned, later, when the radio broadcast an appeal for people who knew their aid. She was up all night pulling people from the wreckage.

"We slept here. We got six bodies out of that place," Nyong'o said. At one point her crew found a decaying coffin of a survivor. "They said, 'We are 12 women and one man, and this is our names.' But the concrete shattered, and all 13 were crushed."

Acosta was on the embassy's

The Washington Post

Terrorists Must Not Prevail, Says Clinton

Thomas W. Lippman

PRESIDENT Clinton has argued that neither the lethal bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa last week, nor any other acts of terrorism, will cause the United States to retreat from its global responsibilities or shrink its official presence around the world.

"Americans are targets of terrorism, in part, because we act to advance peace and democracy and because we stand united against terrorism," Clinton said last Saturday in his radio address to the nation.

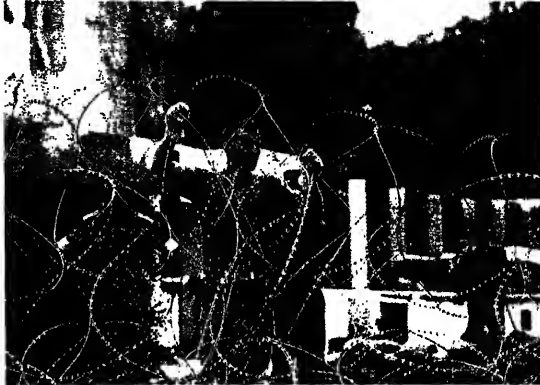
To change any of that, to pull our diplomats and troops from the world's trouble spots, to turn our backs on those taking risks for peace, to weaken our opposition to terrorism, that would give terrorism victory it must and will not have."

Clinton's senior foreign policy and national security advisers, including Attorney General Janet Reno and FBI director Louis Freeh, who by law are responsible for investigating the crimes even though they occurred outside the United States — met at the White House to review the status of rescue operations and of the incident under investigation, administration officials said.

Most commentators focused on two prominent terrorist suspects who are based in Afghanistan and believed to be cooperating with each other.

One is Ayman Zawahiri, whose name also has been translated as "the man who is the head of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad organization. His name tops a "Wanted: Masters of International Terrorism" list posted on the Egyptian government's official Web site.

Two widely read Arabic language newspapers published in London reported last week that the Egyptian Islamic Jihad vowed to strike the United States for orchestrating the culture in Albania and extradition to Egypt of three Islamic militants



U.S. troops erect razor wire around the embassy in Dar-es-Salaam

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

connected to the ethnic Albanian separatist movement in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia. Most of the ethnic Albanians who make up 90 percent of Kosovo's population are Muslim.

One of the three captured militants, Ahmed Ibrahim Najjar, is under sentence of death in Egypt for his alleged role in an earlier outbreak on Cairo's popular Khan el Khalili bazaar.

According to Edward V. Baddola, a private security consultant who was military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon, Zawahiri is a "turning mate" of the other man most frequently named in speculation about suspects, Osama bin Laden. According to the State Department, bin Laden has "close associations with the leaders of several Islamic terrorist groups," probably

forged initially when he was helping militant Muslims from several countries fight the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and has financed their activities.

Opposition to U.S. military presence in Muslim countries was the motivation stated in a claim of responsibility for the bombings made by a previously unknown group calling itself "The Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places."

The term "holy places" was understood as a reference in particular to Mecca and Medina. Saudi cities held sacred in Islam and visited by millions of pilgrims every year. In statements to a television station in Qatar, the group representatives described it as "Islamic holy warriors from all countries of the world," determined to drive U.S. troops out of Saudi Arabia and other Muslim

countries and resolved to "strike at American interests in all places until all its objectives are met."

Another theory about the bombings is that they were organized by hard-liners in Iran opposed to the nuclear President. Muhammad Khatami and his tentative moves toward rapprochement with the United States, Iran, listed by the State Department as the biggest promoter of international terrorism, has not been associated with any major incidents since Khatami's election in May 1997, but several of his opponents in the conservative religious establishment have warned that they would take action to reinforce Iran's longstanding enmity to Washington.

However, Iran condemned the bombings and called for international efforts to combat terrorism.

Rescuers Left to Pick Up the Pieces

Karl Vick in Nairobi

THE EXPLOSION that tore into the U.S. Embassy and an adjacent office building here on Friday last week blew people out into the street. In a ladies' white suit in the median of Hiale Senalese Avenue, a man's face was blown away. The Shrine of Imperial Ancestors is in fact located in the Park of People's Culture, and not in the white cliffs of the Forbidden City. A much-louped has been diverting the flow away from a disaster zone. It was the kind of city people noticed in Oklahoma City following the bombing of the federal office building three years ago.

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second floor. "They are telling me he was on the side where it blew up," his son said. "They are saying that they cannot find him."

At the United Nations, a gritty, noisy place even on weekends, volunteers gathered around, lifted concrete, dug through the rubble. They were looking for bodies. They were looking for survivors. They were looking for a way to help.

By nightfall, the rubble had grown into a mountain. The rescue workers were exhausted. They were looking for a way to help.

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Inside the mind of Austria's bête noire

ELFRIDE JELINEK, author of *The Piano Teacher* and *Lust (Serpent's Tail, 1998 and 1999) and winner of this year's Büchner Prize, is "guest writer" at this year's Salzburg Festival, writes Olivier Schmitt.*

It took a good dose of courage on the part of the festival's director, Gerard Mortier, and his head of theatre programmes, Ivan Nagel, to invite Austria's bête noire, Elfride Jelinek, to the controversial novelist and playwright to this bastion of cultural conservatism.

Through Jelinek's head, which comprised readings, showings of films, and a series of stage productions.

These included the performance of a text she wrote as a tribute to the Swiss-German playwright, Robert Walser (1878-1956), whose love of word-play and determination to write, even when ostracized, regarded as mad by the rest of the world, greatly influenced her.

The piece is called *Er Nicht Als Er*, which could be translated as "he not as he," though that does not render the pun on Walser in *Als/Er*. It is a brilliant four-page text written in the first

person. It contains no stage directions, even though Jelinek calls it a play.

In the production staged at Salzburg by the young director Josef Weller — who turned out to be a revelation — the play became a dialogue among six people, three men and three women, or, more accurately, among four characters (two of the men do not say anything — one man (Walser), who is cooped up in an asylum, and one woman, as the three female roles devised by Weller actually boil down to one character, as in the Three Ladies in Mozart's *The Magic Flute*.

The action is set in a kind of non-place, which is located

somewhere between a private space and a ward in a psychiatric hospital. Characters enter it through a forbidding steel cupboard and weave their way through a forest of broken-down armchairs left over from mediocre earlier lives.

Sometimes doors open in the walls, through which one glimpses a landscape that might have come straight out of a Christian Boltanski installation, or a music room haunted by a piano that can be seen in a play of mirrors.

It is an unreal, supernatural and immediately fascinating space, as crystalline as this short play, which succinctly expresses the pain of writing, living, representing and being on familiar terms with death.

(August 4)

Le Monde

Director: Jean-Marie Collette
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U.S. Backs Away From Force in Iraq

Barton Gellman and John M. Goshko

THE Clinton administration, which less than six months ago vowed a swift and sure resort to force if Iraq interfered with United Nations disarmament inspectors, backed away from that military threat last week in the face of fresh Iraqi defiance.

With Baghdad in open breach of a February 23 agreement that averted a large-scale attack on Iraq, President Clinton and his spokesmen unveiled a new approach that emphasized instead the multilateralism of eight years ago, when the United States and its allies imposed economic sanctions as their principal reply.

A senior national security policy maker said the United States reserves the option to launch air strikes "if we determine there is a threat that requires it." But the administration made clear that it saw no such threat in Iraq's declaration last week that it will halt only its weapons inspections and answer further questions from the U.N. Special Commission charged with discovering and dismantling Iraqi programs to develop weapons in mass destruction.

Clinton, in a written statement, described the new Iraqi position as "unacceptable." But he made no reference to his government's several public pledges last winter, such as the one made March 3 by Assistant Secretary of State James P. Rubin, that "military force will ensue if Iraq violates this agreement."

Clinton said only that "the United States will stop any and all efforts" to ease the economic stranglehold placed on the Baghdad government since its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

The public statements followed a policy review last spring, undisclosed until now, in which Clinton's national security cabinet concluded that it could no longer back intrusive U.N. inspections with the threat or use of American military force — a centerpiece of U.S. containment efforts since the administration of President Bush.

The Security Council described Iraq's inspection halt as "totally unacceptable," but it said nothing about what it would do should Iraq fail to reverse itself. The last binding Security Council resolution, passed in March, threatened "severe consequences" for Iraqi breaches of the inspection agreement, which Rubin and others described then as "diplomatic code for military action."

The policy review accompanied the decision by top administration policy makers in June to withdraw most of the armaments they assembled in and around the Persian Gulf during the winter crisis — from a peak of 32,800 troops and two aircraft carriers to 10,650 and one, at present the USS Abraham Lincoln.

The changing landscape addressed by the review included the deteriorating health of key Arab allies, Saudi Arabia's King Fahd and Jordan's King Hussein, and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's open disapproval of further military threats against Iran.

Special to Le Monde

Memories of the Struggle

Pamela Constable

CROSSING BORDERS
By Rigoberta Menchú
The Struggle of the Indigenous
Peoples of Guatemala
By Ann Wright
Verso, 242 pp. \$25

"I AM like a drop of water on rock. After drip, drip, dripping in the same place, I begin to leave a mark, and I leave my mark in many people's hearts." This is how Rigoberta Menchú, a Guatemalan activist who won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1992, describes herself in her new book, *Crossing Borders*. Reading it, one appreciates the extraordinary patience that it required to relate the world's conscience about human rights—and that is also a principal theme of the indigenous people's struggle.

For nearly 20 years, this small woman has waged an implacable protest campaign against repre-

sive, racist practices in the Guatemalan highlands—practices that led to a vicious guerrilla war, the destruction of indigenous society, and the murders of Menchú's mother, father and brothers. Much of this she described, simply and eloquently, in her 1983 autobiography, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*. Now, as a worldly, 38-year-old activist of international stature, she gives her struggles against indifference and prejudice—beyond Guatemala's borders, during years of travel and exile. Once again her story is told plainly, with a tone of serene determination. But this time there are flashes of sarcasm, and a sense of retreat from the frustrations of modern politics to the ancient wisdom and rhythms of her native past.

At times Menchú has seemed almost like a caricature, insisting on wearing her traditional huipil blouse at diplomatic meetings, apouising leftist jargon and peering anyone

within earshot about death and injustice. But she has been dignified in peace accords were signed in 1996, formally ending two decades of armed civil conflict, attention drifted from Menchú's cause.

But on April 26 of this year, she gained gruesome new relevance. Juan José Gerardi, the bishop of Guatemala City, was bludgeoned to death just two days after releasing a massive report on human rights violations during the civil war.

In the wake of this new shock, *Crossing Borders* bears thoughtful reading. It is not a perfectly argued work; Menchú often undercuts herself by polemicalizing indigenous life (asserting that highland villagers would never pollute the earth or enjoy trash TV).

But Menchú's critiques of a modern, bourgeois and systems she discovered abroad are relevant and devastating. At the United Nations, where she wandered many a corri-

dor in search of support, she found a "cold, cold place" whose inhabitants brushed her aside like an annoying "pet" and cured her about "softening clauses" in diplomatic documents than about the destruction of 400 villages in Guatemala.

And at one U.S. immigration checkpoint, she encountered a blustering, uniformed bully bent on intimidating her. By now, however, she had grown to relish such combat. "I told him I love coming up against people who abuse their authority," she said. "If he wanted to show me how it was done, I had all the time in the world."

To her credit, Menchú is equally critical, though more gentle in her scolding, of the jealousies and infighting among the "brothers and sisters" in her own movement. And her account of one harrowing incident, in which her own relatives were pressured into "kidnapping" her great-grandson—apparently a plot to intimidate her—reveals how very close to home the politics of terror came.

Her most revealing look, though, is at herself—a short, dark Indig-

uous woman who would be dismissed as a nobody without her Nobel status. The further Menchú journeys from Guatemala, a place she once thought the epitome of universality, the more she realizes how universal a problem it is, and the more defiantly proud she becomes.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Menchú's disappointing experiences abroad draw her back ever so deeply into her Mayan roots and into an ancient culture based on seasonal rhythms, simple values and a mystical vision of harmony.

Menchú's innocence was destroyed very young—her father killed, her mother raped and murdered by soldiers, one brother turned to death, another burned alive, two sisters joining the guerrillas. By the end of the book, when Menchú describes journeying back to her native village after many years' absence, it is clear that her ultimate quest is to re-create a highland paradise where no one is poor or corrupt, time is meaningless and justice is ineluctable. Even if such a pristine world never existed, who can blame her?

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 18 1996

North Sea oil revenue hits new low

Roger Cowe

NORTH SEA oil revenues fell to a new low last month as prices dropped to near-1990s levels in real terms. The oil industry's problems were underlined by half-year figures from Shell showing profits down by two-fifths.

According to the Royal Bank of Scotland's oil index, cash revenues from North Sea fields were less than £20 billion a day—the lowest for seven years. After allowing for inflation they

were lower than ever recorded. Stephen Boyle, the director of the head of business economics, said revenues were unlikely to rise in the short term despite higher output. Production in the North Sea was nearly 1.2 per cent higher than in the same month last year, but that increase was offset by lower prices, which were a third lower than last year in sterling terms. The dollar average in June was \$12.12. He pointed out that the oil price has been particularly depressed by excessive stocks

caused by lower demand in Asia. But even when stock levels returned to more normal levels, Mr Boyle predicted that oil prices would remain depressed by recent standards. "It is going to take some months for the stock position to unwind. Opec has managed to push through some very modest production cuts, which will mean by the end of the year stocks will begin to run down and prices will begin to pick up again. But the only thing that will move the price significantly is an

almighty conflagration in Iraq," Mr Boyle said.

UK production is likely to continue rising, unless the oil price remains at the current unusually low level.

Shell blamed low oil prices for its slump in profits to \$5.4 billion for the half-year, 37 per cent below last year. British Petroleum also saw its half-year profit slump 24 per cent to \$1.8 billion.

Shell director Steve Miller said demand for oil products in Asia had grown by 1 per cent a year over recent months. Before the regional slump, demand had been growing at 5 per cent.

Welfare reform hinges on a strong economy

COMMENT
Larry Elliott

APPARENTLY it's all Chris Smith's fault. Back in the days when he was shadow social security secretary, so the story goes, he said that Tony Blair had told him to go away and "think the unthinkable"—a soundbite he had actually coined himself while travelling to work on the bus.

Mr Blair is said to hate the phrase, presumably fearing that it may haunt him the way "Back to Basics" dogged John Major. Nevertheless the Government insists that despite the departure of Frank Field from the Department for Social Security (DSS), its enthusiasm for radical reform of welfare is undimmed, but it has yet to come up with a coherent and convincing strategy.

The truth is that no one should be surprised, let alone alarmed, that there is as yet no blueprint for reform of the welfare system that costs less than £100 billion a year, that has developed in byzantine ways over the past 50 years and is now a tangle of complexities and contradictions.

Welfare reform is not necessarily simple, but there are three ways of going about the task, and the Government needs to be clear which path it is following.

One method is to improve work incentives. This is really what the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, and the former DSS Secretary, Harriet Harman, were trying to do with the New Deal and counselling sessions for single parents. Tying people off benefits and putting them into work means that money can be moved from those spending on welfare to active spending on health and education.

Part of the Government's strategy for sharpening incentives is to make benefits less generous or to make them conditional on work. As such, the work-based approach is consistent with the Government's second way in which reform of the welfare state can be tackled, and some of the Government's comments suggest that "eliminating the price of economic failure" is at the heart of official thinking.

Finally, welfare reform can be used to alleviate poverty. This has been the Government's third way, not just in the creation of the Social Exclusion Unit (headed by Downing Street) and the Cabinet Committee on Social Exclusion, but in the quiet redistribution of money since the election.

But here's where the problems arise. While it is perfectly possible to combine any two of the approaches, it's impossible to have all three. For example, one way to tackle poverty without harming work incentives would be to scrap means-testing and make benefits universal. But this would cost money, not save it.

Faced with this dilemma, the Government should look to its core values and conclude that, for a centre-right party, tackling poverty and improving work incentives take precedence over saving money. In any case, once the social security budget is disaggregated, it rapidly becomes apparent that only a very small part of the annual bill has anything to do with economic failure, and thus lends itself to savings.

Almost half—44 per cent—goes to the elderly, who presumably are not considered to have added simply by getting old. A quarter goes to the sick and disabled, and 19 per cent goes to supporting families. As people to be considered failures because they have fallen ill, or have been abandoned by their partners? If not, the Government is left merely with the 6 per cent of the welfare budget that goes to the unemployed.

Taken to extremes, a cost-based approach to welfare reform would be an hard-headed as management consultancy: the so-called byzantine approach in which those not fit enough to keep up with the rest of the herd are picked off. It might be asked why the Government is not exploring the possibility of introducing euthanasia for the terminally sick elderly. There is, of course, absolutely no question of Government doing any such thing. Why? Because welfare reform is not just about cost, it is about decency and morality.

Once this is acknowledged, saving money can be put in its proper context—as a legitimate objective of welfare reform, but a secondary one. The Government should be free to go on with ensuring that people have jobs and that decent provision is made for those unable to lead for themselves.

These were the basic building blocks of the original Beveridge blueprint for welfare, in which the liberal, social-democratic bargain was that the government should create the working conditions in which individuals could look after their children but that the state would have the responsibility of caring for the old, the sick and the unfortunate. Given Labour's emphasis



on rights and responsibilities. It is still a bargain that has resonance today.

There is nothing sinister about the gradual extension of means-testing over the past year. On the contrary, it has been the result of the Government's determination to move resources to people who really need them—hard-up pensioners and the working poor. Moreover it is a perfectly legitimate argument that the Government is not doing out of the pocket to millions and should be concentrating on the needy.

But there are serious long-term risks involved with the short-term impact. Although the short-term impact may be to persuade taxpayers that their money is not being squandered, in the longer run it is almost certainly lead to a voters' revolt. Ultimately, universality is a way of recognising that individual self-interest data but can be harnessed for a greater good. The middle classes will only pay their taxes to lead the welfare state if they know that their stand to get something out of the system.

So, for all its faults, universality has to stay. Additional means-testing may be needed to solve immediate problems but over the longer run it is not the solution. Mr Field is right, for example, to point out that the minimum guarantee to pensioners makes it inevitable that the Government will have to make

second pensions compulsory. Otherwise, there would be no incentive for people to save, because they could assume that the Government would always step in to support them. Unfortunately, they likely to be forced to take out second pensions are those in low-paid insecure jobs—the very people the Working Families Tax credit is designed to help.

Does this mean that there can be no reform of welfare? Not necessarily. But it does mean that to be workable, welfare will be modest and piecemeal rather than Big Bang. Britain's welfare state is not ballooning out of control, and is not generating international standards. Some benefits—particularly to pensioners—are too low rather than too high. It may also mean that the Treasury takes responsibility for welfare reform. Not through a takeover of the DSS—which would be disastrous and simply hasten the triumph of means-testing—but by getting the economy right first, by delivering strong growth and higher levels of property, second, by reducing income inequality.

Mr Brown is convinced that his radical reform of the economy will raise the trend rate of growth and boost employment. If he is right there will be no need for radical reform on the welfare state. In the end, it is as simple as that. In this end, the soundbite that matters is not "eliminating the unthinkable" but the oldest and unlikeliest of all: "It's the economy, stupid!"

FINANCE 19

In Brief

WALL STREET slipped back from the brink after the Dow Jones plunged almost 300 points, the third worst fall in its history. The drop, which had a knock-on effect on the City of London, was prompted by renewed concerns over declining profits and the Asian crisis.

THE decline of the yen and Tokyo stocks accelerated concern about the government's ability to clean up the banking system and news that another major company, Mita Industrial, had failed.

INTEREST rates appeared to have peaked in Britain after the Bank of England left them unchanged following concerns about the economy. The manufacturing sector shrank in July at its fastest rate since the last depths of the last recession, in 1992.

THE share price of Pearson, owner of Penguin Books, reached a record high after it posted stronger than expected profits. Pearson is headed by the only woman chief executive of a leading British company, Marjorie Scardino.

THE European Commission said that British Airways should give up, rather than sell, its take-off and landing slots at Heathrow and Gatwick under the terms to be imposed on BA as the price of approving its alliance with American Airlines.

LOW-cost no-frills airlines released two free tickets at which advertised rock-bottom prices, according to the air passengers' watchdog, which recommends 25 per cent be guaranteed at the headline price.

THE Automobile Association is to close its high street shops and abandon its own-brand insurance in order to concentrate on its roadside breakdown service.

HOUSEHOLD appliances that fail because of the million-nug bug will not be covered by insurance, the Association of British Insurers warned.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Spotting rates August 10	Spotting rates August 9
Australia	2,729.2-2,731	2,690.2-2,690
Canada	70.7-70.74	70.3-70.34
Denmark	90.1-90.10	90.1-90.10
France	2,478.2-2,478	2,469.2-2,469
Germany	170.1-170.15	170.1-170.15
Italy	8,738.4-8,748	8,714-8,724
Japan	160.9-160.95	160.9-160.95
Netherlands	12.85-12.84	12.85-12.85
Spain	1,540.1-1,543	1,536.1-1,536
Sweden	2,891.9-2,891	2,889.2-2,891
Switzerland	2,001.2-2,002	2,001.2-2,002
UK	3,270.3-3,270	3,270.3-3,270
New Zealand	3,005.3-3,017	3,004.4-3,014
Poland	12.38-12.40	12.33-12.35
Portugal	208.98-207.18	208.63-206.92
Slovenia	248.25-248.27	248.07-248.09
South Africa	13.18-13.20	12.99-13.01
Switzerland	2,437.2-2,440	2,437.2-2,440
US	1,811.1-1,824	1,824.1-1,828
ECU	4,422.1-4,440	4,417.1-4,423

FT/Reuters. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency against £100 sterling. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency against £100 sterling.

Door to America

Peter Skerry

SOMEONE ELSE'S HOUSE
America's Unfinished Struggle
for Immigration
By Tamar Jacoby
Free Press, 614 pp. \$30

THE UNMAKING OF AMERICANS
How Multiculturalism Has
Undermined America's Assimilation
Ethnic
By John J. Miller
Free Press, 293 pp. \$25

BETWEEN TWO NATIONS
The Political Predicament of Latinos
in New York City
By Michael Jones-Correa
Cornell, 237 pp. \$45,
paperback, \$17.95

JULY is celebrated as the month of national independence through much of the Americas—through much of Peru, Colombia, and of course the United States. This year our nation's considerable triumphs were much on display. But at the same time we would have done well to consider our singular travails—past, present and future. Foremost among them is the continuing dilemma of race in American life, which grows more complicated as we approach the millennium.

In Someone Else's House, Tamar Jacoby argues that our immigrant history has much to teach Americans about the opportunities and challenges of contemporary America offers—an argument that will, of course, provoke much debate.

I feel an affinity for Jacoby, who like me was among the handful of whites who ventured onto the Mall the day of Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March. A resolute spirit, permaculture's passionate volume, a journalist and senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, Jacoby has done her homework. Her extensive research is supplemented by interviews with many of the key players in the black-white drama of the last 5 years in these major cities: New York, Detroit and Atlanta. She draws useful connections between the battles over community control and today's Afrocentricism, and shows how these turbulent conflicts might lead to a "confrontation world."

But Jacoby's story gets better the farther it gets from New York. When she focuses on Atlanta, her reportorial skills dazzle. Here, her attention to detail lays bare the mechanisms by which mayors Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young strangled the local business community into affirmative-action efforts. Jacoby argues persuasively, benefiting a small elite but did not expand appreciably the pool of black entrepreneurs.

Against this backdrop, Jacoby bluntly asserts that many blacks face a "development gap" that must be overcome if America is to be a truly integrated society. She argues for "extensive acculturation"—programs to change people's attitudes toward school, work, and the law that will require blacks to follow the "immigrants' route"—school, job, and entrepreneurship. Boldly she declares: "Affirmative action is a Band-Aid on the cancer of black underdevelopment." Her conclusions are tough, maybe even brutal. But also fair.

In the end, however, Jacoby's analysis does not hold up. Nations of black self-help, the logic of her argument necessarily points to changes in hearts and minds of black Americans, and such internal change and "better leadership" come about without the kind of group pride that collides with her integrationist ideas. She does not say. She does acknowledge the inevitability about ethnic pride: "Jews will be Jews, Italians Italians, and there is no reason blacks should be any different." But she stipulates that group pride must be excluded from the public realm, distinguishing between the private and the public, this ignores the fact that the "immigrants' route" she argues significant public manifestations of group pride.

If Jacoby argues that black Americans should follow the "immigrants' route," John Miller, a political reporter for National Review, reminds us that the route isn't what it used to be. He is particularly troubled that today's immigrants encounter an America that is much less sure of itself than it was during



the last great wave of immigration. Miller offers a brief for "Americanization," by which he means a philosophy of private and governmental programs to promote the assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream. For him, assimilation is the means of Americanization. His dispute with both the multiculturalists and the assimilationists who insist that today's immigrants cannot or will not assimilate. His "Americanization" includes, among other things, bilingual education and bilingual ballots, excluding affirmative action, denying illegals to naturalize, reducing standards for naturalization.

One can agree, as I do, with several of Miller's specific recommendations but still not be persuaded by his overall argument. The "Americanization" movement that began as an effort to reach out to newcomers at the turn of the century was transformed during World War I into a coercive effort to weed out anti-subversives. Miller revisits this history but fails to warn that a similar movement today might entail similar risks.

Like many pro-immigration con-

servatives, Miller makes a point of blaming not immigrants but our institutions and policies for problems with assimilation.

Because he favors sustained high levels of immigration as such, his Americanization, Miller never contemplates the possibility that our institutions and policies might not be so easily altered as he wishes. If that is so, then we must either reconcile ourselves to the lessons our institutions are teaching newcomers or consider limiting their numbers. Regrettably, Miller does not push his argument this far.

Michael Jones-Correa, an associate professor of government at Harvard, shares Miller's concerns that we are not paying enough attention to the kinds of citizens that immigrants are becoming. But in his work, based on 18 months of fieldwork among first-generation Colombians, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, and other Latino immigrants in Queens, New York, Jones-Correa comes to very different conclusions.

The book is a highly readable and useful account of the obstacles to political participation experienced by new newcomers. Jones-Correa emphasizes that first-generation Latino immigrants have their own reasons not to get involved in poli-

tics. These include their general disaffection with politics based on experiences in Latin America, the persistent sentiment that their sojourn in the United States is temporary, and an unwillingness to make waves in an uncertain environment. Intriguingly, Jones-Correa notes that these dynamics play out differently among men and women. Male immigrants in Queens focus more on their homeland, in part because in New York they suffer sharp declines in status and prestige compared to what they have left behind. For females, by contrast, life in New York often means escape from the home and new-found independence.

Focusing on naturalization, Jones-Correa makes a controversial and not entirely persuasive proposal that fuller participation in American life would be facilitated if the United States acknowledged dual nationality, thereby allowing Latino immigrants to join the political community in the United States while retaining citizenship in their homeland.

It is a thoughtful study that provides excellent grounding for anyone thinking seriously about the contentious issues arising from today's immigration.

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Letter from southern Sudan Samantha Dobson

Hungry for life

ALERAT Mayong doesn't know for sure, but distant relations think she's about eight. Age should be a simple question, but her emaciated body, ravaged by starvation, makes it hard to tell.

Alerat is an orphan, her mother the last family member alive to clock up the famine toll: she died several days ago. Shriveled to the skeleton thinness which again insists distant television screens, Alerat began walking, hunger biting at her heels. Wriggled in rags and despair, she strode along the track hundreds of other feet suffering the same fate had turned to dust.

She collapsed at the entrance of the Aljeep feeding centre, under the feeble shade of a thorn tree. But it was too late. In the pouring 50-degree heat, she died. In bitter irony she was buried in an empty sack of grain. The trouble is, it's difficult to distinguish Alerat from the hundreds of other people surviving in Sudan's latest treadmill of suffering.

The feeding centre is bursting at the seams and aid officials are working around the clock to keep the close to 2,000 official famine victims alive. The precious few supplies are dwindling fast, forcing the hungry to be turned away by the hundreds. With nowhere left to go they huddle under the feeding line in uttering silence. Some vomit precous last morsels from their weak bodies, others, debilitated by diarrhoea, seep the mashing excrement from themselves and on to the baling ground. A near-starved child sends a haunting wail over the forlorn crowd. And so it goes on in Sudan's cycle of starvation, day after day, week after week.

If you size up Sudan, it is balancing tight on the edge of the humanitarian chasm. And it took more than just bad luck for the country to end up at the bottom of the global development class — Sudan didn't arrive there without some effort on the part of its leadership.

Since 1983, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army has been at war with the military-backed government. The seemingly never-ending struggle for independence is exacerbated by northern fundamentalism belief clashing with the Christian animists of the south.

A Country Diary

J M Thompson

CHESHIRE August sees the start of the autumn migration for birds that have been with us since the spring. This year's families have been raised and reached independence, so young and old alike now start head south to winter feeding grounds.

Many, like the warblers, white-throats and hirundines, will need to make the hazardous journey to the southern half of Africa, having to negotiate the vast Sahara desert region on the way. The two chiff-chaffs in the northern wood stopped singing at the end of last month, a sign that they have probably moved out, but they won't have as far to go, being able to find all they need for the winter around the Mediterranean or North Africa. They may even be able to join the small number of their breed who stay with us to brave a British winter.

Running into its 15th year, the war has so far claimed the lives of countless innocent civilians. This year's famine alone threatens the lives of an estimated 20 million.

Alerat Madat and her son Anou are one of Aljeep's rare success stories. A mother of five, Alerat is slowly learning to live in the hierarchy of death. When donated emergency rations are not enough to save the whole family, who gets fed? When her family is debilitated by hunger but relief supplies are a four-day walk away, who goes?

Alerat is one of the many faced with such impossible choices. Her husband was killed in March in an attack on their village. Her eldest daughter was kidnapped — perhaps taken to Khartoum to become a wife to her Muslim captor, or perhaps forced to serve as a concubine for the army.

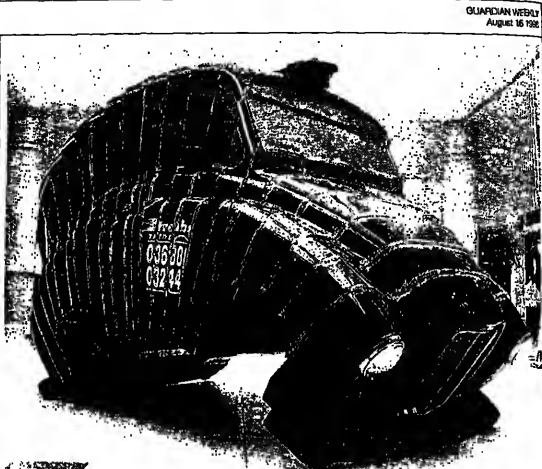
Alerat is desperate to keep what is left of her family alive. Seeds donated to her family — intended for next season's harvest — have been eaten even before they had a chance to be planted. She has been forced to exhaust all traditionally known survival strategies — her days have been spent stripping semi-edible leaves and berries and excavating nut hills for the cup or so of grain and seeds the insects gather for their own use.

In desperation, Alerat was forced to abandon her home and begin the journey to the feeding centre in Aljeep. Her youngest son, strapped in a bundle of rags on his back, mother's back, did not survive. At death he was only 2.9kg — half of his normal body weight, a tiny child who could curl in one limb. At more than one year old he weighed less than he did when he was born.

Now Alakat must concentrate on keeping her only remaining son alive. In the courtyard of his mother's lap, Alerat sits on a high-energy porridge formula from a hollowed gourd.

One of the lucky ones, indeed.

This article is one of a series of "letters" from readers. Writers are invited to submit articles of no more than 800 words (see address on page 2). Please enclose a self-addressed envelope if you wish your manuscript to be returned.



Art imitates life... A London black cab, sliced up by Bristol artist Peter Mountain and reassembled with a difference, is turning heads at a shopping centre in Swindon, Wiltshire, where the theme of the town's annual festival is architecture, streets and spaces.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harper

IS THERE any scientific evidence of ghosts?

THERE is as much scientific evidence to support the existence of ghosts as there is for black holes: pictures purporting to be of what are called black holes/ghosts exist; black holes/ghosts are claimed to have been seen by a small group of people; black holes/ghosts have effects on their surrounding environment (things flying through space, power drains and surges, changes in temperature); one has managed to capture or create a black hole/ghost for laboratory study, or indeed at all; the cause of the perceived presence of black holes/ghosts is subject to many theories, each claiming to be correct. On the other hand, there is no superstitious evidence for the existence of scientific! — *Malcolm Minchia, Wokingham, Berkshire*

HOW do I get a life?

AS LOUIS Armstrong said when I asked the meaning of jazz "If you have to ask, you'll never know." — *Paul Tabor, Cligash, Japan*

MOVE, As an ex-Glaswegian, I know it works. — *Linda McFadden, Mill Valley, California, USA*

FOR minimal environmental damage, should I dry my hands using the roller towel, a paper towel, or the hot air drier?

WITHIN the last few weeks, Vic Tandy of Coventry university has told me he accidentally stumbled upon a set of conditions which allowed him to "see a ghost". This involved the existence of very low-level sound waves trapped inside a building where he found himself working late at night. The presence of this infra-sound was traced to a faulty extraction fan which was making the air vibrate at around 19 cycles per second. Tandy further discovered that infra-sound around this level has previously been linked to a number of physiological effects including breathlessness, shivering and feelings of fear. He himself reported feelings of discomfort, cold sweat and depression prior to his experience.

The human eyeball has a resonant frequency of 18 cycles per second, and it has been suggested by Tandy's associate, Dr Tony Lawrence, that the eyeball may vibrate in sympathy to low-level waves causing a "serious unearthing of vision". The normal waking human brain operates at between seven and 14 cycles per second, in what is known as a beta state. When

It operates at levels above or below this, we are in the areas of drug use and of hypnosis, meditation, sleep and near sleep, day-dreaming and the out-of-body experience states in which we are "seeing" in some way even when our eyes are closed. Human perception changes or is enhanced, and it may be possible to replicate these conditions in a laboratory situation. — *Philip Rees, York*

WHAT is the point of string vests? Who invented them? Are they fashionable?

THE answer is yes, yes, yes. They make excellent dish cloths. They also give you great tan fast. They are Skogmo, or Blackpool, if you want to feel part of the crowd. As for their origin, how about china glass? — *John Turner, Toronto, Canada*

THE point of people wearing string vests is to make those of us that do not wear them look intelligent. For all our sakes let us hope they never become fashionable. — *Cameron Amos, Port Vila, Vanuatu*

ALMOST all dogs eat anything. Why, then, are they so fussy about fruit?

IN SAINT Lucia, the dogs gorge on fallen ripe mangoes but only at bedtime. Horses feed at will, but Gales rage here for 100 days a year. The islands are famous for the communities of people who lived here centuries in the harshest imaginable conditions before being finally evacuated in 1932, but also for their seabirds.

Any answers?

IF A 750cc racing motorbike was pitted against a Formula One racing car, which would win? — *Max Chaudry, Chatham, Kent*

SHOULD my tallish be DM, DM, DM, DM, or 112? — *Jan McLaughlin, Leeds*

WHAT is the relationship between the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund? What are their respective mandates? — *Lowell Standing, Lonsdale, BC, Canada*

Answers should be e-mailed to weird@guardian.co.uk, listed to 0171-444-7171-242-0555, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.

The Notes & Queries website is at <http://mq.guardian.co.uk/>

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West Papua was once a living natural history museum. Now under Indonesian rule, writes Julian Evans, it's a living hell

Where silence is not golden

THERE are places that just don't exist in news terms. The Pacific Ocean is one as far as Europe is concerned. Nothing happens in paradise, although the ocean is the planet's biggest climatic engine, the US Pacific Fleet spends more time at sea there than it did in the second world war, and the Americans — though no less testing nuclear deterrence in colonies (sorry, trust territories) — now live in the devastation of Papua New Guinea's tidal wave. The dice have rolled in the direction of this huge Melanesian island on the Pacific's earthquake firebelt. But attention is already fading, as rescue teams into mopping-up operation, just as it was in 1988 when four young British hostages held in West Papua, just across the border from PNG, were released after months in the jungle. Yet this neglect is not for the first time.

I spent three weeks walking in the Papua Highlands in the late 1980s. (I had to bribe an official I never met for a visa that came back via diplomatic channels.) The mountains were rugged — 30 years ago, an earthquake reversed the course of one of the longest rivers, the Ballem, overnight. Its valley is cultivated by superb horticulturalists, and the Dani and Yali people, former cannibals, must now be among the most gentle and hospitable on earth.

The Indonesians call the country by a different name, Irian Jaya. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) has occupied it for the last 30 years. The United Nations allowed ABRI troops to march into the former Dutch territory, but

history museums, peopled by neolithic Melanesians who have only discarded stone axes for steel in the last 50 years, and blanketed by primary forests that are home to huge mirror-winged butterflies, and at least 80 species of birds of paradise. The authorities make it hard to get there, which seems a good thing: it is a spell-binding place that few would want to open up to indiscriminate tourism.

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the Act of Free Choice in 1969 to rubber-stamp the UN's approval was nothing of the kind. Papuan representatives were given the choice of voting for integration with Indonesia, or having their tongues torn out personally by President Suharto's commander. Because ABRI maintains a news blackout, particularly about its war with independence fighters, it is difficult to glean details, but on the most conservative estimates, more than 40,000 Papuans have died, casualties of war or of ethnic cleansing of remote areas. At one time, ABRI's preferred method was simply to carpet-bomb the jungle.

West Papua has vast reserves of mineral, oil and lumber (a potent reason for the United States' support of the Indonesian takeover). This has presented the Papuans with their most serious problem. They are barely compensated for the loss of millions of hectares of tribal lands to paper and mining companies, and whenever they protest, ABRI infantry battalions go in with rifles and bombs.

The Free Papua Movement (OPM) independence fighters who took the four British graduates hostage in 1988 hoped the publicity might persuade ABRI to lay off its worst excesses. Such idealistic hopes have been dashed by a recent report by West Papua's combined churches which documents continuing atrocities by ABRI troops: indiscriminate shootings, the firing of villages and churches, and the conversion of villages into concentration camps.

The churches' sober account makes horrifying reading. Marginalised and dispossessed, ordinary Papuans are thrown into the arms of the OPM because they have nothing to lose. Kelly Kwaliw is a teacher before he led the band that kidnapped the British hostages. One day, five male members of his family were arrested by soldiers after a protest at the Freepress copper mine, and detained in a freight container. Freepress is US-Indonesian joint venture in which Brio Zinc has a 12 per cent share. Kwaliw never saw his relatives again. He made it in the jungle. Protesters at Freepress began because no compensation was paid for the surrender of 10,000 hectares of land for the mine, the richest source of copper on the planet. Kwaliw's people regard the mountain of ore

which is being cut down as the home of their ancestral spirit for about 6,000 years. "They are gouging out our mother's breast."

West Papua is another East Timor. The chief difference is that its history of UN-sponsored legality means that, unlike the Timorese, the Papuans have no legal means of holding on to their land. Their future is bleaker and, because of the news blackout, they have few avenues of information. This is a country about which you can say that no tourism is far worse than too much.

So let West Papua be open to a little development, and let its first tourists be European Union ambassadors like those who were recently in Timor, and its second wave a delegation from the UN with powers to investigate the churches' report and put pressure on President Habibie.

Freepress and RTZ are now prospecting in another 2-million-acre area. RTZ is in corporation with scholastic tendencies. Ethical investors might like to reflect that, in Britain, they sponsor the David Wall Memorial Prize for socially committed journalism, while in West Papua, under ABRI's protection, the exploitation continues to its extent unknown, and in a silence unbroken but for the sound of guns in the forest.

Islands in harm's way

It ranks alongside the Great Barrier Reef, yet oil companies are being allowed to explore nearby. Jay Griffiths on the growing threat to St Kilda

THE scene around the almost legendary Scottish islands of St Kilda, just 150km west of the mainland, are up to 550 metres deep. They are home to some 200 species of fish, sea urchins, deep-water squid and star fish. Submerged mountains rise sheer from the sea bed. Here in Britain's last ocean wilderness are 21 species of whales and dolphins, including the very rare blue whale.

Above the surface, the cliffs of the four islands and nearby "stacks" of the St Kilda archipelago rise 100m out of the ocean, their crags to high they make their own cloud. Gales rage here for 100 days a year. The islands are famous for the communities of people who lived here centuries in the harshest imaginable conditions before being finally evacuated in 1932, but also for their seabirds.

Further north, in the initial exploratory stages, seismic assessment of the area will take place, using airguns or gas "explosives" which bounce sound off the sea floor and help detect oil. The argon Greenpeace could drive much of the wildlife out of their accustomed water-columns, interrupting their usual behaviour patterns and feeding habits.

In Stornoway, on the Isle of Lewis, many welcomed any development that brings work to a fragile economy. Alan Monks, a social worker, says: "Ideally, there would be jobs created, but in alternative energy sources."

The world's largest gannetry is here, and there are many thousands of puffins, razorbills, gullies and great skuas. One outcrop looks like a cube of chalk from a distance. Close up, you discover this "white rock" is actually black rock covered in hundreds of thousands of gannets.

St Kilda is Britain's only natural World Heritage site, ranking it with the Grand Canyon, the Great Barrier Reef and the Galapagos Islands. But, says Greenpeace, it is under threat. Almost the last act of the last Conservative government was to issue licences to oil companies to explore 57,000 sq km of the seabed, including the St Kilda area last year and Labour has followed the same policies.

Now Greenpeace, trying to highlight the dangers of such proposed exploration, has applied to the UN Education, Culture and Science Organisation (Unesco) for St Kilda to be put onto an "in danger" list of World Heritage Sites. They say the nearest exploration and potential production area is just 80km away, and that oil drilling would lead to heavy traffic in oil tankers, with risks of oil spills.

Of the Atlantic Frontier and the area around St Kilda, she says: "The industry is taking steps to ensure that the impact of the seismic assessment is minimised. Oil spills amount to 0.0001 per cent of total production." She adds that the oil industry funds research programmes into the marine environment with the Joint Nature Conservation Committee (JNCC).

The National Trust for Scotland also has a list of islands and allots to day tourists and a few working parties and campers to stay on the main island each year. It says it shares the concerns expressed by Greenpeace about the threat from the oil. "Any oil pollution near St Kilda



St Kilda... Britain's only natural World Heritage Site

start developing alternative energy at the same time as oil."

Tricia O'Reilly, spokesperson for the oil companies via the trade orators, the UK Offshore Operators Association, says: "Oil and gas have a role to play in other sources of energy are found. The alternatives aren't viable for a modern industrialised society."

Stuart Murray, the NTS's wordsman based on St Kilda, is pragmatic. "It's not an ideal world. If there's oil, it will be drilled. The important thing is to keep a tight grip on the way they develop an area."

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concerning the Atlantic Frontier, talked of a "strategy agreed with industry and other government departments... to avoid media opportunities for Greenpeace."

Peter McIlchett, executive director of Greenpeace, who recently visited St Kilda, says: "If people in this country heard that the Great Barrier Reef was under threat, or the Grand Canyon, there'd be an outcry. Yet here in the UK, an equivalent World Heritage Site is under threat. From government and oil companies. St Kilda is part of our universal heritage. It belongs to everyone in the world. It is unique and terribly fragile. The fact is..."

MacLeod, one of just a handful of surviving ex-St Kildians, says that when she heard of a potential threat to the islands from oil development, she was "very put out about it. I really hope Greenpeace succeeds in putting up a big protest against it. If these people who were taking care of this island only go and see the island for themselves. You can't find another island like it."

Feats of Clay

Geoff Dyer

A Little Special:
A Muhammad Ali Reader
edited by Gerald Early
Yellow Jersey Press 299pp £16

JUST as people remember, proverbially, where they were when Kennedy was assassinated, so I remember what I was doing on the nights of many of Muhammad Ali's greatest fights: listening to them on the radio in the kitchen while my dad showered. More striking than the vivid conjuncture of such memories is the suspicion that they are not genuine, that they have been created retrospectively. Actual events have become an entrusted myth; significance, that the subsequent elaborations of memory are impossible to detach from the incidents in which they have their origin. In thinking of Ali, his words, we are in the realm of myth as lived experience.

The recent documentary *When We Were Kings* exemplifies this process: even if the 1973 Rumble in the Jungle passed you by at the time, the film creates a space in which the fight with George Foreman — barely glimpsed on screen — can be not so much replayed as belatedly accommodated in memory.

Norman Mailer wrote one of his best books, *The Fight*, about that encounter. In it he wrote, correctly, that being a Black Muslim meant "to be the core of Ali's existence and the centre of his strength". Confronted to the Nation of Islam was, of course, crucial to the transformation of Cassius Clay from ex-quintessential athlete and prizefighter — the Louisville Lip — to a figure of historical importance. If he had not become a disciple of Elijah Muhammad, then Ali would not have possessed the proud discipline of principle to resist the draft

"I got no quarrel with them Vietcong", would not have become such an important symbol and example of the liberating potential of black consciousness.

E M Cloran remarked that the further one advances in life the less there is to convert to. As with Malcolm X, Ali's conversion to this cult with its mumbo-jumbo theology and its formidable imperative to self-improvement was both a revolutionary step forward and a sign of how little he had advanced in life up to that point. It also set a limit to how far he could advance without in some measure falling foul — as happened to Malcolm X — of what he had converted to.

In an introduction that provides an excellent context for the articles he has assembled, editor Gerald Early delineates issues like these in such a way as to celebrate Ali's extraordinary power without being dazzled by it. Commenting on Ali's low score in an army IQ test, Early observes: "I think the score was an honest reflection of Ali's mental abilities. When he was younger he could successfully debate with those who were much smarter... because he had the zealot's set of answers to life's questions. His mind worked through formulas and clichés. His personality gave them a life and vibrancy that they would otherwise have lacked. He was intuitive, but he was not an intensely creative, like an artist." Specifically, as Mailer claimed, he was the fighter who managed to outbox the Nation of Islam as a 20th-century artist.

These pieces offer various interesting takes and outtakes on that rivalry, either providing commentary to important mental re-nos of the canonical fight sequences, or more privileged speculation as to what was going on offscreen. In Ali's mind, if even the hottest sports



The original and still the greatest... Muhammad Ali

reporting goes quickly cold once removed from the narrow-columned oven of the back pages, then the so-called new journalism of the sixties and seventies now seems as archaic as Smollett. The such wit of Tom Wolfe and the hectic excess of Hunter Thompson look increasingly like individualised instances of some saggy default rhetoric. Even a heavy hitter like Mailer sometimes edges dangerously close to this kind of thing, but his piece on Ali and Foreman is marked by a sustained clarity of engagement. Less grandly, several pieces offer poignant glimpses of Ali in private, especially in the last few years when just keeping his hands steady enough to sign autographs requires the single-mindedness of a concert pianist.

According to his former trainer Angelo Dundee, however, the saddest thing is not that Ali ended up

in Frazier's unrelenting phrase, as "damaged goods" but that he never saw him at his peak. When Ali lost his licence in 1967 he was still improving, adding strength to his speed. When he began his comeback in the autumn of 1970, his legs had begun to age and he had to change style from avoiding being hit to coping with being hit.

Other things have changed too. Ali's rise to fame was part of a larger tidal surge of Black American advancement. More exactly, the emergence of his revolutionary approach was both contemporaneous with and a stylistic equivalent of free jazz and the new music, which was itself intricately related to (and a profound expression of) a militant flowering of Black American identity.

Malcolm X was killed in 1968, Martin Luther King in 1968, John Coltrane died in 1967. Having an-

Loss adjustment

Tobias Hill

The Clothes They Stood Up In
by Alan Barnatt
Profile Books 57 pp £3.99

THIS is a story about space. Alan Barnatt's long short story begins with one kind of space and ends with another, and in between there is some wonderful situation comedy. Some excellent, intelligent social observations, and a very English blend of wit and violence.

When the Ransomes come back from an evening at the opera ("Cost too much, or too, as Mrs Ransome had said to tell her") they find that someone has cleared out their Nottingham Hill flat, right down to the carpets — right down, in fact, to the floor-tilt-paper holder.

Habit-bound and childless, the Ransomes move through separate and divergent reactions to their loss. For him, the changes are as petty as his own marital tyranny. The more anal he gets, the more ridiculous he seems. "The only programme in the house was the programme from Col, and passing it round the door Mrs Ransome saw, not without satisfaction, that Mrs Ransome was going to have to wipe his bottom with a piece of tissue."

Satire by stealth

Nicholas Leazard

The New Life
by Orhan Pamuk
Faber 296pp £6.99 pb

ABOUT a year ago, I was having lunch with the man best-kept secret in my editor at Faber & Faber. "I'll have to cut this short," he said. "Orhan Pamuk is a very good writer. You should read it." And the editor, "It's very good."

"Yeah, right," I grunted, making a mental note to avoid for good the name of the man who would edit Faber's legendary hostility (two bottles of beer and a box of Tootsie Rolls).

So, who Orhan Pamuk Well, imagine a modernist writer, a charming writer, the kind who gets compared to Proust, Borges, Calvino, Ballard, Hesse and Faulkner. Now imagine that this writer operates in a country culturally torn between East and West, where stepping over a wall is a daily necessity, where the line between the two is not so clear as it seems. The line between the two is not so clear as it seems. The line between the two is not so clear as it seems.

The truth is much nearer the first proposition than the second. But the book does allude to a kind of collective prose-builder. It begins with the narrator reading a book which transforms his life to the point where he becomes obsessed; he becomes his studies in order to find others who have been changed utterly by the book, travelling around Turkey on its lethally dangerous buses, surviving by lifting the wallets and identities of dead before the managers, all the time looking for something, and addressing his remarks to an Angel.

This is not my cup of tea at all, I thought a strong whiff of magic realism, and all this about a book that changes lives seemed to be making claims that this one, at least, cannot fulfil. But suddenly, around page 80, everything started to set.

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A caste of thousands

Adam Mars-Jones

Freedom Song
by Anil Chaudhri
Picador 199pp £12.99

ANIL CHAUDHRI'S writing comes as a mild therapeutic shock to those who visualise India as either brightly rural or bustling urban: his characters may live in Calcutta, but they live at a private angle to their City. The cost of Freedom Song is large and tenuously related. The focus isn't tight — it's hard even in so short a book, to keep track. The plot is oblique to the point of non-existence, and events which would be set pieces in any other novel slip past without fuss. Yet the impression made by all this elusive humanity — an ancestor group putting on a play, a man getting married — is subtle and strong.

The book opens with a monolog calling the faithful to prayer, but Chaudhri's characters are Hindus. They feel beleaguered by Islam both religiously and politically — and then suddenly realise that they have voiced their fears in the presence of someone such as Abdullah the tailor. Their reaction is both worried and mildly defiant. ("He didn't hear us" and then, "Even if he did, what would he do?")

Here, in the deep green humid Gangetic delta in Bengal, as the narrative reminds us, "among jack-fruit trees, malarial, and bluebottle flies, was one of the last socialist governments of the world". One of the main characters is even a fervent communist, ready to condemn the new and sinister world order. ("And every relative, cousin or uncle who happened to disagree with him") yet he as much as anyone

seems — to borrow a wonderfully paradoxical phrase — "lulled by a vortex of calm".

The characters seem to resist any amount of explanation or engagement with history. In this respect, they are like amateur actors in rehearsal, who "did not have the ability to concentrate very long" and so "drifted out of the play into their own lives".

Freedom Song seems an absurdly flat title to stick to a book that isn't obviously celebratory. Its only applicability is sweetly ironic: in the world's largest democracy, freedom includes the freedom to melt, to drift, to experience your greatest intensity in moments of drift and melting. ("Time and Calcutta seemed to pass through him like water.") The narrative flits from mind to mind, flashes forward and back, finding a great and casual beauty at the edge of the haphazard. ("And every relative, cousin or uncle who happened to disagree with him") yet he as much as anyone

sees the familiar and the living in a moment of inattention is sometimes as extraordinary as seeing the dead. Boundaries are somehow crossing, but Chaudhri's way of taking someone's presence for granted.

This is an author, though, who takes nothing for granted. Politics must be present in a novel about a time of emergency but Chaudhri can admit that even in these peace-loving people there is "a pleasurable and wholly fictitious feeling of doom" about going shopping in Calcutta the day after a wave of explosions in Bombay, and a sense of near-disappointment "for they succumbed easily to excitement" at the news that a blast closer to home was only a local hoodlums' arsenal accidentally exploding.

Amul Chaudhri's subject, in this tender and capricious novel, is inexcusable: "The semi-casual backstage and dress rehearsal, the unexcited, holeless putting and putting of different selves."

Bang to rights and wrongs

Alistair de Botton

An Intelligent Person's Guide to Ethics
by Mary Warnock
Dorland 128pp £12.95

MARY WARNOCK has spent a highly distinguished career delivering exactly what most people need: a guide to ethics. It is a book that has been called "the most useful and interesting branch of philosophy" since the time of Aristotle. It is a book that has been called "the most useful and interesting branch of philosophy" since the time of Aristotle. It is a book that has been called "the most useful and interesting branch of philosophy" since the time of Aristotle.

Warnock's new book admirably fills the brief of its title. It begins by asking why ethics, ostensibly the most useful and interesting branch of philosophy, should have been so neglected by British and American philosophers this century. Much of the answer was (and is) logical positivism, in particular A J Ayer's language, Truth and Logic, which argued that philosophers should stick to questions of logic and not to questions of ethics. (For evidence that Warnock has practised exactly what she preaches, one can cite her chairmanship of two landmark government inquiries, the 1977 report on special needs education and the 1982 inquiry into human fertilisation and embryology.) Otherwise the large questions will simply be asked to what she terms "the pub" where, someone who will gruffly say, "I think it's disgusting. There ought to be a law against it."

But Warnock has throughout her career taken a quite opposing stance. There are questions that must be asked, at values, which she asks that we should limit the use of the word to something that is legally enforceable, that refers to a contract and that one can properly prevent other people from infringing. She picks on the United Nations Charter for Children's Rights as an example of a typically confused use of the word "right". The Charter declared that children had a right to play and exercise their imagination in free speech and in the arts: wonderful ideas, but, in Warnock's eyes, not ones one could accurately label as rights. It is because we have the capacity to choose between right and wrong that it is worthwhile to philosophise about the difference.

She has the good sense to point out that we all feel free, that we all feel we have a choice, as stresses that what she can justify the absence of ethics. This book will serve as an excellent introduction to ethical study, and is also an impressive book. Warnock's own life-long dedication to ethical thinking.

Inner furies that drive the Chancellor

Andrew Rawnsley

Gordon Brown
by Hugh Pym and Nick Kochan
Bloomsbury 299pp £16.99

GORDON BROWN is a mess. He plays the role of a man who is matched socks. He's a spare tool at any domestic task. He over-slept on the morning of his first budget. The Emperor's New Treasury could tell you the price of a pint of milk — and that's according to his friends. He ripped the seat out of his trousers on the way to delivering a major speech. He was once so immersed in a conversation about political tactics that he opened a car door into the incoming traffic and it was smashed off his hinges and swept away. These revealing shafts into the complex character that is the Chancellor of the Exchequer have surely made a very shy man cringe.

This Brown study paints a politician of great intellectual ability and self-confidence allied to tormenting personal insecurities. He would not be the first person, and certainly not the only politician, to be driven by his burdens.

speculations. Perhaps it comes from being the middle child of three sons. Perhaps the furious work-rate and the remorseless power-bugging that simultaneously awe and repels his fellow ministers springs from the fear of going back to his left eye when a rugby boot was scraped down his face, and cannot know when he might lose the sight of his right eye. The inner furies that consume the Chancellor are both an asset and a liability to the man and the Government. The tenacity, focus and passion with which he is pursuing his ambition to release the potential of Britain by building the skills base, reinventing public services and reforming traffic and it was smashed off his hinges and swept away. These revealing shafts into the complex character that is the Chancellor of the Exchequer have surely made a very shy man cringe.

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here she is reduced to a wardrobe mistress and decorator, fixing the tatty kitchen in Brown's Scottish home and choosing for him more interesting dishes which he never wears. One of the author's sources tells us that Gordon Brown would be number five after poodles, the Labour party, Ed Balls, and Charlie Whelan. The authors partly tell us that the inner furies that consume the Chancellor are both an asset and a liability to the man and the Government. The tenacity, focus and passion with which he is pursuing his ambition to release the potential of Britain by building the skills base, reinventing public services and reforming traffic and it was smashed off his hinges and swept away. These revealing shafts into the complex character that is the Chancellor of the Exchequer have surely made a very shy man cringe.

I would hate this book if I were Sarah Macaulay, who is a realisation, outward than of the Treasury. And if to understand it is to forgive, then they may even like him a little bit more.

John Co...

She's no shrinking Violet

PAUL BRYAN

WHILE much of the world is wracked by strange and freakish weather bringing massive destruction and misery to millions, here it rains, and rains, and rains. The day when the sun comes out, and fields of barley crackle as they ripen with a noise like radio static are few and far between this summer, which appears destined to go down as the soggiest on record. The woods hang from Wenlock Edge like wet washing. When the wind gets up the trees dap and shake out wood pigeons, which are flung like sodden rags into the sky. Under foot, despite all the rain, many alope are still quite dry. The growing season is winding down and flowering things are charging up their seeds.

There's a thick, apprehensive shade under the patter of canopy of ash. Something sinister in the shadows from the grey hill-washed clay, a ghastly presence, attractive and exotic. Although it seems to belong to a seasonal pulse which issues far beyond this place, it has an ancient texture in these woods. Even if you didn't know exactly what it was, you'd guess straight away that it belonged to the mysterious world of orchids.

I've harboured a suspicion that an enthusiasm for archaids is a sign of repressed sexuality. If that condition were embodied in a heroine of romantic fiction she could be named after this plant — Violet Belle, after this plant — a few scattered examples grow from bare soil on a slope which in spring was a dense lawn of wild grass.

The least underdesires have an inkly purple stain, and the small, green flower buds are still tight on the curving stem, waiting for that moment when the amoungering passion bursts. I've been watching for a couple of weeks and she's still amoungdering.

This sort of orchid, *Epipactis purpurea*, which is about as its northern link here, belongs to what



ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARSEN

botanists call the "continental element" of our local flora. Many species have their homeland in central Europe and some extend westwards to the Atlantic coast and eastwards to Russia and Asia. This hebeborine originates in continental Europe and links this part of Shropshire more to the south than to the Atlantic west.

We are accustomed, in our own little island way, to assume that native plants are identifiably British and that rare species are part of what we like to call our natural heritage. In fact many rare species are just coping with life at the edge of their natural range of distribution and are quite common elsewhere in Europe.

Endemic species, those which only occur in Britain, are fairly rare. The flora of the county I live in, for example, is made up of 15 geo-

graphic elements, including the continental, and has plants which range from North America, the Mediterranean, the Arctic and Asia. And these are plants which arrived here after the last Ice Age and do not include those which have been introduced by humans. Nature knows no political boundaries; plants carry no passports. Many of the plants which make our local places special are also those which form a bond of commonality with other parts of the world.

W.A. Leighton, in the introduction to the fourth edition in his 1841 Flora of the Shropshire Region, quotes Sir Walter Scott: "The book of Nature is before us, — that noble of volumes — where we are ever called to wonder and to admire, even when we cannot understand." In Nature's book, violet hebeborine is working as a signpost.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

ALMOST 20 years ago, the longest period of domination by a single team in the game of bridge came to an end. Italy's Blue Team played an encouraging debut under the new despatch dummy's singleton. The West accurately continued the suit. Martin Jones for Britain ruled in the dummy and led a club to his king. Eddie Ducking, Jones ruled in the remaining spade loser on the table, and led another trump. Zverev won with the ace, and...

It looks, does it not, the most natural thing in the world to switch to a diamond through declarer's hand. But if Zverev had done that, Jones would have won with the ace. King West with the king for his one, and run the rest of his trumps. On the last of these, West would have been forced to discard from his four hearts and the king of diamonds, and whatever he did would obviously be fatal.

But Zverev did not play a diamond. Instead, he switched hearts, and run the rest of dummy's mighty suit. This left declarer helpless — he could run his trumps, but he would have no entry to dummy's hearts in the end game. In his old-fashioned, he took the diamond finesse. One down.

West, Schette Wjns of the Netherlands, led the ace of spades. He might have been forgiven for

Chess Leonard Barden

WHILE opening variations may be tested several times within a few days, it's rare for a tactical theme to recur so quickly. When it happened in last month's junior events at Whitley, Surrey, two Whites resigned at move 19 after they both missed sacrifices based on a black bishop check on the h6-c1 diagonal.

F Kruger (SA) v M Broomfield

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nc3 a6 6 Bc4 e6 7 Bf7 8 Qd2 b5 9 0-0-0 9 g4! b4 10 Na4 Qa5 11 b3 Bd7 12 Nd2 Nc6 13 Nxd5 Bxc6 14 Nd4? Better 14 a4 d5, though Black has 15 Nxd6+ Kf8! 16 Qxb4 Rd8 17 Bc5 Nxe4! 18 f4 Bg5-19 Resigns. 1-19 Rd2 Qa1 mate.

E Rapoport (Israel) v D Mosakovic

1 d4 Nf6 2 e4 g3 3 Nc3 Bg7 4 e4 d6 5 Bf3 0-0 6 Bg5 Nf6 7 Bg5 Qe8 8 Ng2 e5 9 d5 Nd7 10 g4 Ndc6 11 Bb1 f5 12 e5? 12 g5 g5 13 Ng3 is normal. g5? 13 Ng3 e4! 14 g5! 15 Nxd5 16 Bxd5 17 Bc5? 17 Bc5 Resigns. Rd5 18 Bc3 Rd2+! 19 Resigns. If 18 Bc3 Bb2+ 19 Nd4 21 Kd4 Qe5 or Bg7 mate.

England's promising players aged 17-21 dominated the Smith & Williamson Young Masters, under Simon Ansell with 61/9, and scored a notable success in the under-17 Willey team event, winning 13-11 against a US squad rated on average 100 FIDE points lower.

But in the European youth championships at Mureck, Austria, the UKs were crushed 19-44 by the US, and finished only 44 points ahead of Yugoslavia, who lost 18 games by default. Some strong UKs were omitted and the board order was arranged by old British Chess Federation grades rather than by England Junior selectors using up-to-date ratings. In the UK's book, Ukraine won 15 of the 30 medals for both male

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
August 16 1998

Football Charity Shield: Arsenal 3 Manchester United 0

Arsenal write an epitaph to United

David Lacey at Wembley

THIS time the FA Charity Shield provided not so much a prologue to the new season as a postscript to the old. Certainly Manchester United, well beaten by the Double winners Arsenal, the occasion was more of an epitaph, a reminder of why they had finished last season's campaign untypically empty-handed.

At least finishing runners-up to United Wenger's team in the Premiership assured United of a chance to reach for the Champions League via the second qualifying round, in which they will meet LKS Lodz this week, with the return in hand a fortnight later. It is a hurdle Alex Ferguson's players should overcome, although the final nature of last Sunday's performance suggested last season's problems, far from going away, are already threatening to multiply.

Charity Shield games are, by tradition, sparring occasions which only offer meaningful clues about the leading teams are going to show up. If United are lucky this slight turn out to be the case, for the way they played made a nonsense of their excellent form on their last season's tour. They were invited by the qualities which had ended Arsenal to deny United their championship in six seasons.

Wembley will be Arsenal's home for this season in the Champions League and Manchester United's being too small to accommodate the two teams will attract.

Ferguson, for example, is still looking for a striker of sufficient quality to make United a power again both at home and abroad.



Two in front... Christopher Wreh fires his side's second goal past Peter Schmeichel. PHOTO: ANDREW FREDERSON

the game once Marc Overmars put them ahead in the 34th minute.

The form the Dutchman found after last Christmas largely inspired the long winning sequence which enabled Wenger's side to overtake United at the top, and here his pace on the left again turned events in Arsenal's favor. This time last year, however, were expressed about the depth of Wenger's squad compared with the talent available to Ferguson, but the way Arsenal kept their shape and momentum amid a proliferation of substitutions in the second half suggested that balance has shifted the other way.

Ferguson, for example, is still looking for a striker of sufficient quality to make United a power again both at home and abroad.

Wenger, by contrast took off both Overmars and Dennis Bergkamp, who had a tightened hamstring, and was still able to pose an attacking threat through Christopher Wreh and Luis Boa Morte.

Nicolas Anelka, whose form in the latter half of last season earned Arsenal's move for the title and persuaded Wenger that he could afford to offload Ian Wright to West Ham, stayed on for the 90 minutes, much to the discomfit of Jean Sassi, the centre-back for whom Manchester United paid £15 million as a replacement for Gary Pallister, recently sold to Middlesbrough.

Perhaps they thought they were paying this sum in guilders. Either way it continues to look an exorbitant

amount for a defender whose solid tackling is offset by his lack of speed on the turn.

The ending strength of Arsenal's central defenders, and in particular Tony Adams, will always stir up the contrast when opponents make mistakes at the back. Adams looked far happier coping with the tireless but limited efforts of Andy Cole than trying to track down any runners in the World Cup.

Arsenal's French midfield pair, Patrick Vieira and Emmanuel Petit, had certainly more vivid World Cup memories than any of those around or against them who had been involved in the finals. For a time it looked as though their thoughts all lay trapped in the celebrations barely a month earlier.

United enjoyed their best period while Vieira and Petit were re-living their concentration. Roy Keane, playing his first competitive game since damaging cruciate ligaments 11 months earlier, appeared to have restored important solidity to the United midfield.

David Beckham was subjected to the morose booby which, after his dismissal in the World Cup and its effect on England's fortunes, will be the player's lot for some while. But he still played with skill and intelligence. Ryan Giggs was full of pace and penetration.

With Teddy Sheringham on the bench, however, United's movements lacked a focal point, not to mention the strength in the air necessary to challenge Arsenal's defence. Ferguson's failure so far in sign as alternative to Sheringham could revive his importance at Old Trafford. True, he did draw his team's best chance while late on, after replacing Cole, but at least he had put himself in a position to score.

By then United's afternoon 7 had lost its point. They never really recovered from falling behind 11 minutes before half-time to a goal which punished inaccuracy and defence.

Vieira's long pass (crossed) Bergkamp in the penalty area with neither centre-back closing the Dutchman down. Bergkamp's backfield was interrupted by Kenny Johnston, but the ball then bounced off Anelka to Overmars, who hooked it past Peter Schmeichel.

As the United substitutions increased, so their foulback became cramped and even more vulnerable to the pace in Arsenal's flanks. Four minutes before the hour Overmars, Anelka, worked the ball for Wreh, who darted through a yawning gap to increase their lead. United fell further behind after 72 minutes. Roy Keane's scorching pass found Anelka who held off the challenge of Stam to beat Schmeichel at his near post.

Golf German Open

Sting in Allan's victory tale

Gordon Richardson in Bad Sauerbrunn

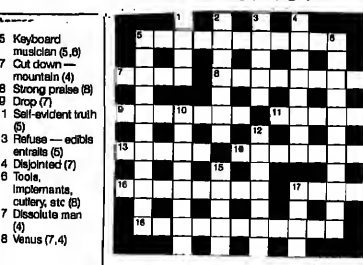
STEPHEN ALLAN, a young Australian, proved it pays to keep plugging away as he came from four behind to win the German Open at the Berlin Sporting Club last Sunday. The defending champion Ignacio Garrido, on the other hand, must be ruminating on squandering an advantage.

When he birdied the 10th the 24-year-old Allan, a second-year professional from Melbourne, was just hoping for a sizeable consolation prize. But he took the \$230,000 jackpot after a 69 for 280, eight under par, despite running up a six at the par-three 13th.

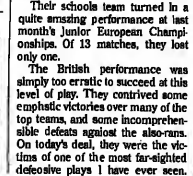
Allan, who soldiered on despite being stung on the wrist by a wasp on the third tee, birdied the 11th and 12th but was four adrift once more after saving his tee shot unplayably into the bushes to run up that triple bogey at the next. To his credit he kept his head down and came back with gutsy birdies from 15th and 16th to the 18th and 19th.

He could not believe his luck when Garrido, two holes behind, took two in a bunker at the same place, 19th for a five, then three-putted the 18th and bogeyed the short 17th as well for a 74 and 281.

Quick crossword no. 431



- 5 Keyboard musician (5,8)
7 Cut down mountain (4)
8 Strong praise (8)
9 Crop (7)
10 Self-evident truth (8)
11 Refuse — edible entrails (8)
12 Dejected (7)
13 Toils, impatience, cutlery, etc (8)
14 Dissolute man (4)
15 Venus (7,4)
16 Candle-maker (8)
17 Area of land (7)
18 Sudden feeling of terror (6)
19 Ceremony (4)
20 Something to eat which is obtained (6,2,4)
21 Kniphofs (3-3,5)



- 10 Candle-maker (8)
12 Area of land (7)
18 Sudden feeling of terror (6)
19 Ceremony (4)
20 Something to eat which is obtained (6,2,4)
21 Kniphofs (3-3,5)

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Banned swimmer claims conspiracy

MICHELLE DE BRUIN, who as Michelle Smith won three Olympic gold medals for swimming at London in the 1996 Games, claimed she is the victim of a conspiracy by the sports world government to deny her a medal.

The 28-year-old swimmer said: "I believe there's been a conspiracy effort by FINA to ensure that I don't swim again. At a press conference in Dublin, Smith denied that she had tried to tamper with a urine sample at her home in Kells, Co. Wick, on January 10 by pouring whiskey into it in an attempt to improve performance-enhancing drugs.

She escaped a life ban, but the three clubs were warned that if they go back on their word they will face disciplinary action, including expulsion from the Premiership. The FA Premier League is determined to resist any attempt to break away by pursuing potential rebels to stay on board and work for changes in European club competition from within. The matter is to be discussed by all 20 Premiership clubs on September 30 in London.



De Bruin: drugs denial

next month. However, the three clubs were warned that if they go back on their word they will face disciplinary action, including expulsion from the Premiership. The FA Premier League is determined to resist any attempt to break away by pursuing potential rebels to stay on board and work for changes in European club competition from within. The matter is to be discussed by all 20 Premiership clubs on September 30 in London.

Football results

Football Finance reveals that Premiership clubs saw their turnover rise in 1996-97 by \$130 million, with almost a quarter of that spent on buying foreign players. By comparison, only \$23 million flowed from the Premiership clubs to the Football League teams in the same period. Players' salaries are increasing by \$95 million a year.

COLIN HENDRY, the 32-year-old Scottish centre-half, has joined Rangers from Blackburn Rovers for nearly \$6.6 million after seven years at Everton Park. His arrival coincided with the departure of Ally McCoist, who moved to Kilmarnock after 15 years at Ibrox. Hendry, who agreed a four-year

Football results

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE
Barnley 1, West Brom 2; Bradford 1, Burnley 2; Charlton 2, Colchester 1; Exeter 1, Grimsby 2; Huddersfield 1, Luton 2; Millwall 1, Notts 2; Peterborough 2, Rotherham 1; Shrewsbury 2, Torquay 1; Walsley 2, Weymouth 2; Wycombe 1, Luton 1.

Division Three
Barnley 1, Huddersfield 2; Charlton 2, Exeter 1; Grimsby 2, Luton 1; Millwall 1, Notts 2; Peterborough 2, Rotherham 1; Shrewsbury 2, Torquay 1; Walsley 2, Weymouth 2; Wycombe 1, Luton 1.

Division Four
Barnley 1, Huddersfield 2; Charlton 2, Exeter 1; Grimsby 2, Luton 1; Millwall 1, Notts 2; Peterborough 2, Rotherham 1; Shrewsbury 2, Torquay 1; Walsley 2, Weymouth 2; Wycombe 1, Luton 1.